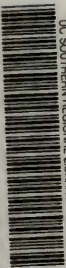


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A
LETTER
TO A
Young Gentleman
OF
OXFORD.

LETTER

AND

Young Gentlemen

OXFORD

A
L E T T E R
T O A
Young Gentleman
O F
O X F O R D.

By EDWARD BENTHAM, B. D.
Fellow of ORIEL COLLEGE.

There is a Time to keep Silence, and a Time
to S P E A K. ECCLES. iii. 7.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for S. BIRT and M. SENEX; and J.
FLETCHER and J. BARRETT, in *Oxford.*

M DCC XLIX.

THE

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Advertisement.

IT may not be improper to assure the Reader, that the Occasion of putting together these Reflexions, which are now revised and offer'd to the Publick, was entirely distinct from the late treasonable Disturbance in Oxford. With a View however to this, as well as the Affair with which he was himself more particularly concerned, the Writer of them did not think it misbecame him, to provide some Antidote for the Use of his Pupils, whenever an Attempt should be made to tamper with their Principles, and withdraw them from their Obedience to the Laws of the Land.

The Situation of quiet Men constantly residing in the University, often keeps them ignorant of what is said or thought of this Place in the World; as indeed they sometimes
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are of what passes in the very Place itself. No Wonder then, if they are not forward to believe that, in fact, disadvantageous Reports prevail concerning it, and are therefore perhaps too backward in pursuing the Measures, which Prudence might recommend to be taken in order to its Welfare and Reputation.

There are however Seasons in which the most modest Man may find himself under a Necessity of declaring his Sentiments in the most publick manner, (how little soever he may aim at, or value the Character of a Writer on Subjects of this Nature) merely to do Justice to Himself and to Those with whom he is concerned.---- Such seems to be the present Juncture, more especially with respect to those, who are entrusted with the Education of young Gentlemen in the University of Oxford.

A
L E T T E R
T O A
Young Gentleman.

DEAR SIR,

I Am sorry to find that your Attention hath been taken up with a Set of Notions, very different from those which I, and every one that wishes you well, would have recommended to you. Methinks if you find in yourself so strong a Turn for Politicks, as you seem to have, those of *Greece* or *Rome* might yet a while afford sufficient Scope for your Diligence and Curiosity. For when young Persons, before they have sufficiently formed their Judgment by these and the like Models, and have moreover improved it by some Knowledge of the World, enter too deeply into the Consideration of our National Concerns, the wretched Spirit of Party-Zeal seldom fails to enflame their Imaginations, and
betray

betray them into various Extravagancies ;---such as they may perhaps in vain repent of in their maturer Years: It seldom is, or indeed can be, indulged without neglecting the more important Business of other Studies, upon which their Reputation, and Fortunes, and future Happiness greatly depend. And I appeal to your own Observation, whether the young Politicians of your Acquaintance do in Fact signalize themselves by any valuable Accomplishment, or indeed by any thing so much as talking sawcily of their Superiors, and dogmatizing upon what they do not understand.

Had your Politicks gone no further than barely to determine who, or what Men were fittest to be employed in the Administration of National Affairs, a Person of Your Age would certainly have gone out of his proper Sphere, and have been very impertinent even in so doing. 'Tis your Duty to reverence Authority in whatever Hands you find it placed, to avoid giving Offence to it, and to recommend yourself to its Esteem and Regard by improving your Mind with useful Learning, and fitting yourself to do your Duty in that State unto which you may be called hereafter.

But how much more ridiculous is it for you to adventure to call in Question the Laws of your Country, and that upon a Subject so delicate in its Nature, that few establish'd Governments

vernments but our own, would suffer it even to be calmly debated in Theory with Impunity? The Law hath already precluded your Enquiry, and determined where your Allegiance is due: Under that Law you were born; it hath hitherto afforded you Protection; to it therefore, by all the Ties of Nature and Gratitude, is your Duty pre-engaged.

And tho' the Mildness of our Constitution is such that it doth not rigorously exact from all its Subjects that Activity of Service in its Support, which is expected in other Countries, yet surely in Justice to itself it cannot but restrain the Attempts of those who ignorantly or maliciously endeavour to subvert it.

You would do well therefore to consider seriously, that,

“ If any shall endeavour advisedly or directly, to hinder any Person, who shall be next in Succession to the Crown for the Time being, (according to the Limitation by the 1 and 2 W. & M. Sess. 2. C. 2. and the 12 W. III. C. 2.) he is guilty of High-Treason. And those that maliciously and directly affirm the same by Preaching, or advised Speaking shall incur a Præmunire. 1 and 2 Anne, C. 17.

“ By the 13 W. III. C. 3. To have Correspondence or keep Intelligence with the pretended Prince of Wales, or knowingly with

“ any Person employed by him, or to pay Money
 “ for his Use, is High-Treason.

“ By the 4 Anne, C. 8. 6 Anne, C. 7.
 “ Whosoever shall advisedly and directly, by
 “ writing or printing, maintain that the pre-
 “ tended Prince of Wales, or any other, hath
 “ any Right to the Crown otherwise than by the
 “ 1 & 2 W. and M. Seff. 2, C. 2. and the
 “ 12 W. III. C. 2. Or, that the Kings of this
 “ Realm by the Authority of Parliament cannot
 “ make Laws to limit and bind the Crown as to
 “ the Descent and Government thereof, shall be
 “ guilty of High-Treason.

“ Nay, (to use the Words of a judicious
 “ † Lawyer) when one doth know, that a-
 “ nother hath committed any Sort of Trea-
 “ son, and doth not reveal it to the King, or
 “ his Privy-Council, or to some Magistrate,
 “ that the Offender may be secured, and
 “ brought to Justice, this bare Knowledge
 “ and Concealment was High-Treason at
 “ Common Law. To know and assent with
 “ any outward Act, that shews an Approba-
 “ tion of it, makes it High-Treason; as where
 “ one, having Notice of a Meeting of Con-
 “ spirators against the Government, goes into
 “ their Company and conceals it, &c.

• Misdemeanours, arising from contemptuous
 and undutiful Behaviour to the King, are hei-

† Wood's Institut. Com. Law. p. 406.

nous Offences; and, though attended with Circumstances of less Deliberation, subject the Persons guilty to * Penalties, of such a Nature as often fixes a lasting Mark of Infamy on the Offender.

And now, what Equivalent have any jovial Set of Companions to give you in Return, for running so dangerous a Risque in attending them thro' the several Stages of their treasonable Frolicks? No, "all Equivalents you disdain, and leave to the servile Herd of " Court-Dependants:—" 'Tis downright Honesty that prompts You; a Regard to Justice, and an Abhorrence of Usurpation upon " the Rights of an injured Prince." But what great Proof of your own Honesty is it to appropriate that Character to yourselves? And how low, how unbecoming your liberal Education is it to take Pleasure in villifying and calumniating Your Betters?

But further, not to insist on the apparent Want of Modesty, Candor, and Discretion, when Persons of Your Years treat the most solemn and repeated Decisions of a whole Nation, and more especially their own Country, with so much Arrogance and Contempt;—nor to shew you distinctly, how infinitely the Presumption at first View lies in this Case against the private Opinion of yourself and the select

* Such as Pillory, Whipping, &c.

Company of your Friends ;-----and how impossible it is, without long Experience, Observation and Reflexion, to attain that real Certainty, or even well-grounded Conviction of the Justice of your Cause, which alone can warrant your Talking and Acting in this Manner——and how easily Persons warm with the Conceit, that they are pursuing an honest, disinterested Plan may be mistaken ;—Not to insist, I say, on these Things ; If you are actuated with an honest Principle of Publick-Spirit and Zeal for Justice, some Justice is certainly due to the Society whereof you are a Member ; And your Regard to this Part of the Publick (for the Welfare of which Your Friends upon all Occasions affect to shew the warmest Concern) ought in all Reason to moderate your Zeal, and not suffer it to expose the University to the Resentment of those higher Powers, who will be naturally led to censure it, as having been deficient in the Exercise of some material Act of Instruction or Discipline ; as either permitting or conniving at a direct Insult upon that Government on which the very Being of the University depends. 'Tis certain that a very considerable Number of wise and good Men in the Nation have been and are faithful Subjects to the present Establishment. Your Friends will not deny that many such were so to Queen *Anne*, whose Right and Title to the Crown was the very same with that of his present Majesty. Any reasonable
and

and modest Man therefore will, I think, readily conclude that your Political Notions are not so notoriously and evidently true, as to justify your extravagant Declarations; imprudent with regard to yourself, and injurious to other People.

Not that I would be understood to endeavour to stifle your Spirit of Disaffection by the meer Weight of Authority, or to frighten you out of your Scruples by a servile Dread of the Punishments abovementioned: No; I am ready to enter with you into the Reason of the Case; and desire you to attend to nothing but the genuine Dictates of Common-Sense and Equity.

But here I must observe that there is a strange Inconsistency in your political Principles—a strong Presumption that they are not really founded in Reason. For, let me ask you.

Do you not almost appropriate to yourself and Party the Character of Patriots and Men of Spirit, conscious of a Dignity inherent in yourselves as *Englishmen*, Friends to the Liberties of your Country, and jealous of its Rights? You would, I know, resent the Imputation of the contrary Character, and talk of those who differ from you as a Pack of mean degenerate Scoundrels.—But, on the other Hand,

Do

Do you not at the same Time consider yourself as the rightful Subject and Vassal of One whose only Claim to your Subjection is his being the Lineal Descendant of a Person formerly invested with Royal Power?—One who has never exercised that which is the only rational Foundation of Civil Power, the giving Protection to yourself or your Parents; and who can have no Right to your Service and Obedience, unless you were really born in a State of more abject Slavery than was ever yet felt in any Part of the World, and are at this Time the absolute Property of a foreign Master; because his supposed Ancestors at some former Time had a Dominion over Yours; a Dominion You think, unalienable and indefeasible, how arbitrarily and oppressively soever They may have behaved? How inconsistent is this Account of things with the former!

If upon Principles of common Sense you insist that reasonable Creatures have a Right to be dealt with in a reasonable Way, you must admit that they have a Right to throw off that Dominion when it is exercised unreasonably. And this Concession will bring you round to the Principle on which we justify the Revolution; namely, that as the King by Inheritance hath a Right to govern, so the Subject hath a Right to the Law as the common Measure of Royal Authority and his own Obedience.—And accordingly the Law hath
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been constantly recognized as such by *English* Kings in the Oath taken by them at their Coronation.

Kings indeed are but Men; and our Religion certainly recommends the Exercise of Charity towards them, whenever we consider their Failings: Their Province has Difficulties of a peculiar Kind, which demand our Candor: There is a Reverence due to the Superiority of their Stations; and this ought to restrain us from being over forward to believe evil Reports concerning them: And if we have but common Modesty, we shall be disposed to make some further Allowance from the Consideration of our own Ignorance and Misapprehensions: And I must add, that a prudential Regard for our own, and the common Welfare, should teach us how very unsafe, how very troublesome it may prove, to bring Matters to an open Quarrel, upon every, I will not say, pretended, but, real Grievance.

But the Evils under K. *James II.* if any Credit is to be given to the Reports of History, were adjudged by our Ancestors to be intolerable: He had, in repeated Instances, made direct Attempts to bereave us of our Religion and Liberties, and so far unhinged the whole Frame of the Government, as to find himself utterly disabled from exercising it any longer: And having violated the fundamental Laws of
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this Kingdom, and having withdrawn himself out of it, carrying away with him his pretended Son, an Infant six Months old, He abdicated the Government.

Finding the Nation in this State, the Great Council, like Wise Men, turned the Exercise of Government out of its old Channel no further than the Necessity of the Case required. They waited on the next * Heir by Blood, and put the Nation under Her's, and her Husband's Protection. " This Method of proceeding, you say, in settling the Government was new and unprecedented." And in a good Measure it was; though by no Means altogether: as our History will shew you. But so was the Occasion.—Our Municipal Laws were made for the common Course of Things; They have been wisely fi-

* In the same manner by 12, 13. *W. III. C. 2.* The Crown, in default of Issue of the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark* and King *William III.* respectively, was settled upon the Princess *Sophia*, the nearest *Protestant* Branch of the Royal Family, and the Heirs of her Body, being *Protestants*. She was Grand-Daughter to King *James I.* and Grandmother to his present Majesty.—This Settlement was afterwards confirmed, and further secured by the Laws under Queen *Anne*. See p. 8.

The Necessity of this Limitation of the Crown to *Protestants* appears from hence; that the Popish Religion, while it subjects the Conscience of the Prince to the Pope and his Emissaries, hath a natural Tendency to enslave the Nation itself to a foreign Power and Jurisdiction. Not to mention the other Inconveniences, which in Fact arose from King *James II.*'s professing the Popish Religion. He was thereby induced to disclaim the Regal Supremacy, and to own and acknowledge the Papal, by a solemn Embassy at *Rome*.

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lent in specifying how the Subject is to proceed in extraordinary Exigencies; They presume that the Commands of the Sovereign will be Legal, and in that View, without Limitation, recommend and enforce Obedience upon the Subject: But they cannot be understood to have been designed to authorize Oppression, and defeat the great End of all Laws whatsoever. It is sufficient therefore if the Conduct of our Ancestors in the Revolution was warranted by the general Reason of the Case: Nor is the Validity of the Settlement itself at all affected by that Want of Regularity, which you now discover in some Circumstances attending it; a Regularity which it was impossible to attain, and which it might have been fatal to attempt.

Nay a little Acquaintance with the History of our own, and of other Nations, will be sufficient to inform you, that, as few Revolutions in Government have been founded on a more apparent Necessity, so few have been conducted with equal Calmness, Order and Propriety.

The Prince of *Orange's* Wife having a near Interest in the Crown, if not the fairest Pretension to it after K. *James II's* Demise, upon the Plea of Lineal Succession, he had a Right to demand Security for such Succession due to his Wife, against the Male-practices at that

Time generally believed to be set on Foot to defeat her Pretensions, and also to prevent the Inheritance from being injured by the flagrant Misconduct of the King in Possession. He was therefore justified, as in making Remonstrances, so in endeavouring to second those Remonstrances, when found ineffectual, by armed Force. And considering how much the Interests and well-being of Nations, especially such as are exposed to a powerful common Enemy, stand connected with each other, the *States-General* acted upon the Principles of sound Reason and Policy, in their ready Dispositions to support his Endeavours. Neither must I omit their Obligation in Point of Gratitude to act as they did, and to support a Neighbouring Nation in its extreme Distress; to whose timely Assistance They themselves in a like Case formerly owed the Preservation of their Religion and Liberties.

Granting this Step to have been right, I see not with what Colour of Reason you can except against the Justice of any Part of the subsequent Establishment. During that Confusion which K. *James II*'s Mismanagement had introduced, you must imagine that the Thoughts of wise and good Men were not idle, and that many Expedients were devised to reconcile the Rights of King *James II*. with the Welfare of the Kingdom. And you think perhaps, had you been concerned, that you should

should have voted for some other Expedient : But even then, had you been of the Minority, you must from the Nature of Civil Society, have acquiesced in, if not joined in supporting a Resolution, which, when finally passed, must be taken for the Resolution of the Whole.

But you think it hard for the Son and Grandson to suffer for the Misconduct of the Father !---But does not this often happen ? Must it not necessarily so happen in the Course of human Affairs ? It is hard for a hopeful young Man to come after a profligate, extravagant Parent, who has mortgaged or squandered away his paternal Estate ; or who has forfeited the hereditary Honours and Wealth of the Family by Treason. Whatsoever accidental Inconvenience is supposed to attend the Person, no one thinks of, nor does the Case oftentimes admit of a Restoration to Blood and Estate. And what infinitely greater Difficulties must there now be, how prodigious the Risque to unsettle the Government of three mighty Kingdoms,—to create Jealousies and Distrust in all the States with whom we are naturally allied,—to alarm the Apprehensions and Fears of all that have concurred in the Support of the present Establishment, — to subject not only every Act of the Legislature, but even every judicial Proceeding for above half a Century, on which the private Property of Thousands depends, to be called in Question, and,

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most probably, to involve the Nation in the dreadful Calamities of a Civil War; — and all this for what? Why to do an imagined Act of Justice to a single Stranger, at the Expence of Duty and Gratitude to a Sovereign whom we have acknowledged, and of Justice to our Posterity; — to a Stranger, I say, of doubtful Birth, whose supposed Parent *abdicated* and gave up all Remains of that Right which he had not forfeited; who is as much a Foreigner, and as much attached to Foreign Interests, whereby he hath been supported, as can well be conceived: --- to commit the Protection of a Protestant Church to a Popish Prince--- to restore a Right of trampling upon the Necks of Men who think they were born free, and are determined to stand fast in that Liberty, which they look upon as their Birth-right, the Liberty of being under no other Controul but that of the Laws of God, and the known Laws of the Land; and who think themselves bound in Duty to transmit the same to their Posterity.

For my own part, I am persuaded that the foregoing, however short and imperfect, is a true Representation of the Original Settlement of the present Succession of the Crown. Whether it be so or no, You I am certain have not yet examined. With regard to You therefore, the Presumption lies in Favour of that established Government under which you
are

are born.— Should a Man endeavour to persuade you that, if you examined into certain Memoirs, or would credit the traditionary Reports of some People in your Neighbourhood, it might be shrewdly suspected that your Great Grand-father did not fairly come into Possession of that Estate which your Father now enjoys, would You in contradiction to all the Evidences of Title-Deeds now in his Custody, and confirmed by Verdicts upon Record, be disposed to relinquish your Title to the Inheritance? Or even subject your Title to the critical Examination of a busy Lawyer, in order to discover whether possibly the Conveyances have not in them some Flaw sufficient to disturb your Father's Possession, and thereby enliven the dormant Claim of the lineal Heir of some former Possessor?

And surely the Dictates of natural Reason declare at least as fully, in favour of our Right to Civil Liberty, as they do on the Side of Justice to other Men. If I find myself born in a State of Liberty, as every *Englishman* does, a reasonable Conscience will never persuade a Man to relinquish it, and become the Slave of Arbitrary Power. To assert the Privileges I am born to, is doing Justice to myself. The same Law of my Country, which ensures my Title to my Estate, ensures to me likewise the Possession of my Liberty, and regulates my Behaviour in the Use of both,

But

But if after all, your Prejudices remain in favour of an indefeasible Right of Dominion's being founded in lineal Succession, let me ask you, from what Date will you fix the Limits of your Enquiry backward? Why at the Revolution? Why not go upwards thro' all the preceding Reigns, and see if there never was any Flaw in the Succession — no Usurpations from the Conquest, which cleared the Way for the *Stuart's* Claim? — Or in what Right did *William* the Conqueror found his? — Or his Predecessors the *Saxons*? (For the *Danes* you will consider as meer Usurpers; tho' I think a little longer Time would have made their Right full as good as theirs on whom they usurped.) This, I think, in all Reason should be the Course of that Man's Enquiry who is persuaded of the Sacredness indefeasibly inherent in Princes by lineal Descent: And in order to do the Business compleatly, we should search the antient Records of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, whose Natives have the best Title to be considered as the *Auloxdoves*, and Original Proprietors of this our Soil; and upon whom the Usurpation was first made; and from amongst whom consequently the Restoration of the true Royal Family should be expected.

Now as this Enquiry is beyond the Reach of Your Abilities, I think You may safely suspend it, till you are better qualified to make it:

it: For no Man's Obligation can extend beyond his Abilities.—Or rather, the Enquiry is to You no other than that of studious Curiosity; entertaining and amusing, and perhaps instructive, but no more affecting Your Behaviour in Point of Conscience than if the Revolution had happen'd 600 Years ago, instead of 60, or in any other Country.

Supposing I indulge you in your Prejudice, that artful, designing Men, running counter to their Obligations of Duty and Allegiance, first terrify'd K. *James II.* into a Retreat, and then took Advantage to call it an *Abdication*, What is that to you? Whatever Force you suppose to be in the famous Text for Non-Resistance, that *They that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation*----however it may have affected the Subjects of K. *James II.* it affects not You.—The Text, which belongs to Your Case is clearly this, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers; the Powers that be are ordained of God.*-----And who was in Power when the Apostle wrote, but *Nero*? The fifth in Succession from *Augustus Cæsar*, who, if ever there was an Usurper upon the Liberties and Rights of his Countrymen, must be considered as a principal one of that Class. From the Death of *Augustus* to the Death of *Nero* there passed about 53 Years. Supposing then, but not granting, the Settlement of the Crown at the Revolution to be no other than
what

what you are pleased to term it, an Usurpation; the present Government hath been at least equally fixed and established with that of the *Roman* Government when the Apostles wrote; the Recognition of the King's Authority on the Subjects Part much more free and solemn than that made by the *Roman* Senate; and the Exercise of Power on the King's much more, in Truth altogether conformable to the known Laws of the Land.

Possibly indeed You are taught to assert, if not in Contradiction to Experience that for near these sixty Years last past we have been in a State of Anarchy, yet, that every Act of Authority hath been null and invalid since the Revolution, for want of a Conformity to the Constitution of Government in this Nation, as you say it ought to stand upon the Original Plan; But were You or the most intelligent Jacobite called upon to explain this Plan, I will venture to pronounce that scarce any two, if left to themselves would agree in the Plan itself; much less would any of you be able, or would it be possible to justify the Authenticity thereof, and to shew (which is a further Point necessary) the Unlawfulness of submitting to any Departure from it.

When you ask me, what I think of those who laboured for a Restoration under the Government of *Oliver Cromwell*, you vainly endeavour

deavour to take Advantage of a Prejudice of mine in favour of K. *Charles I.*---If You had asked the same Question of any Person whom you know to be persuaded of the Justice of their Proceeding; who took up Arms against him and prosecuted their imagined Rights, 'till they had destroyed both him and the Laws, you know what Answer you might expect.---For my own part indeed, I am persuaded that he was a good Man and meant well to the Happiness of his Subjects; and that the Characters of those about him are entitled to a more favourable Opinion than would be due to the same Conduct, if pursu'd by Counsellors at this Time; because the Limits of the King's Prerogative on the one Hand, and the Rights of the People on the other, were by no means so clearly ascertain'd in the Time of King *Charles I.* as they have been since.

But at the same Time I must tell you, that I think it is my Happiness to have been born at a Time when the Plan of our Civil Constitution is much more clearly marked out than it was then;---if I was to say *altered for the better*, I do not see what Absurdity is contained in such an Assertion. For though Government be the *Ordinance of God*, yet the particular Establishments of it are the Creatures of human Fancy and Invention; alike under the Disposition of God's Providence which superintendeth all Things; and, as such, may be

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supposed

supposed to have their Imperfections, and to be liable to change, for the better or for the worse. Curs, on the Subject's Part, is alter'd unquestionably for the better; and, I think, not less so on the King's: He hath as much Power as a good Man can desire, and more than That a bad Man ought not to be trusted with. There is sufficient Authority left in the Crown to do all the Good for which Government was instituted: And the Subject, by finding it to be as much for the general Interest to obey the known Laws of the Land, as it is for the Sovereign's to exact Obedience, is under less Temptation to rebel.---That such was the State of the Subject under *Oliver Cromwell*, I never yet have heard pretended:

The Argument therefore which you are taught to draw from the Behaviour of the Royalists under that Usurpation, as it is one of the most inconclusive Sort at best, an Argument *ad hominem*, so is it deficient in very material Points, *viz.* That the Conduct of K. *Charles I.* was at all parallel with that of K. *James II.* which no Tory will grant; and that the Exercise of Power by *Oliver Cromwell* was consistent with the Liberties of *Englishmen*; which as no Whig will be persuaded to allow, so I am almost sure that no Jacobite would contentedly submit to such an Exercise of it, even in the supposed lineal Heir of the Crown. Add to this, that no Oaths were taken, no Assurances

rances given by the active Royalists, to support the Government of *Oliver Cromwell*, nor was his Authority confirmed by Length of Time, nor recognized by any Assembly that could carry the least Appearance of an *English* Parliament.

Upon the whole, whatsoever was the Case of your Grandfather, or Great-Grandfather, whatever Allowance may have been due to the Scruples of those, who immediately after the Revolution thought themselves precluded by their former Oaths, from entering into new Engagements, the Law both of Reason and Scripture seems indisputably to tie You down to a peaceful and dutiful Behaviour to the Person and Government of his present Majesty ;—You, who have been all along from Your Infancy protected by this Government, and are under no personal Tye whatever to any other. But after all, if you dislike the Terms of Membership required in the Civil Society here established in *Britain*, You may find Yourself at Liberty to withdraw into some other Country, and there attach Yourself to Him, whom You are taught to revere as the rightful Proprietor of your Person : But you can have no Reason to complain, if all Attempts to bring others under the same Yoke of Bondage be resented by them as an Invasion of their dearest and most valuable Rights.

This is what I have to say to your Disaffection, as founded in Principles properly *Jacobitical*. Those which you inconsistently borrow from the Republican System, I may take another Opportunity to consider.

In the mean time reflect, that the Question I have been speaking to, is a very serious one to the Nation in general ; and it is so to yourself in all Respects. Upon your Promotion to any *Degree*, you will be called upon to take the Oath of *Allegiance* ; and if advanced to any Preferment, in or out of the University, any Office Military, Civil, or Ecclesiastical, you must necessarily take the Oath of *Abjuration*. You therefore have nothing less at Stake than Peace of Mind on one Hand, and the being depriv'd of the Reward of honest Industry on the Other. The Question therefore is an edg'd Tool, not to be trifled with ; nor will the Law suffer any Man to play the Fool in this Case with Impunity ; as indeed that Appellation contains the mildest Censure one can pass upon such Misconduct, even in young Persons. But if there be Any more advanced in Years, who, in Opposition to their solemn Assurances to the contrary and the Trust * reposed in them by the Government

* All Heads, Fellows and Foundationers of Colleges or Halls, all Readers or Tutors in the University are required to take the Oath of *Abjuration*, under Penalty of forfeiting their Places, and Five hundred Pounds, if exercising any Office.

in Consequence of such Assurances, will act so treacherous a Part by you, as to furnish your yet unexperienced Mind with Prejudices against the Government establish'd in your Country ;—Whether they persuade you that their Objections are unanswerable, because studious Men are more careful to mind their own private Business, than disposed to encounter their Noise with Noise ;—Or whether the same Poison be more artfully convey'd by crafty Insinuations against the Government, hesitated but not explained, by Difficulties started about the first Settlement of it and heightened by Complaints of Male-Administration at present ; if there be any such, you will I dare say be shock'd to find them urging their Objections to you in Point of Conscience, when you have seriously perused the *Oath of Abjuration*, on Supposition that they have taken it : You will see but little Reason to respect them as Men of that strict Honour, Ingenuity, and Credit they may, 'tis likely, pretend to.—As to a third Sort, I shall say nothing ; because you yourself tell me, in a civil Way of expressing your Contempt, that they are an *honest* good-natur'd sort of Fellows.

It is to be hoped, that the late Treasonable Disturbance will at least have this good Effect, that it will excite those Persons, whose only Ambition it hath been hitherto to mind the proper Business of their private Stations and be quiet,

to

to answer the loud Demands, and earnest Expectations of the World ; and wipe off, from themselves at least, that Scandal of Disaffection to his Majesty's Person and Government, which at present indiscriminately affects the whole University ; that they will be explicit and declare themselves openly against all that shall appear acting in this Respect in Opposition to common Decency, and the Dignity and real Interest of the Place. In which Case, I doubt not, but that the Number of sober, thinking Persons in it, who are really disaffected, will be found to be contemptible.

And You, if you have still any real Perplexities upon your Mind, whether derived from some Hereditary Prejudices of your Family, or from the Conversation of those in whose Company you have embarked, will, I hope, (as I may reasonably expect from the Relation in which I stand towards you) produce them with a Spirit of Sobriety and Meekness, and with the same Spirit I will endeavour to remove them, being with Sincerity,

Your faithful Friend.

The Oath of Allegiance.

I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to his Majesty King George :

So help me God.

The Oath of Abjuration.

I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my Conscience, before God and all the World; That our Sovereign Lord King George is lawful and rightful King of this Realm, and all his Majesty's Dominions thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely declare, That I do believe in my Conscience, that the Person pretended to be the Prince of Wales, during the Life of the late King James, and since his Decease, pretending to be, and taking upon himself the Stile and Title of King of England, by the Name of James the Third, or of Scotland, by the Name of James the Eighth, or the Stile and Title of King of Great-Britain, hath not any Right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of this Realm, or any other the Dominions thereto belonging: And I do renounce, refuse, and abjure any Allegiance or Obedience to him. And I do swear, that I will bear Faith and true Allegiance

Allegiance to his Majesty King George, and him will defend, to the utmost of my Power, against all Traiterous Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his Person, Crown or Dignity. And I will do my utmost Endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, and his Successors, all Treasons and Traiterous Conspiracies which I shall know to be against him, or any of them. And I do faithfully promise, to the utmost of my Power, to support, maintain, and defend the Succession of the Crown against him the said James, and all other Persons whatsoever; which Succession, by an Act, entituled, An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Dutches Dowager of Hanover, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants. And all these Things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express Words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common Sense and Understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever. And I do make this Recognition, Acknowledgment, Abjuration, Renunciation, and Promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian,

So help me God.

A
L E T T E R

TO A

Fellow of a College.

BEING THE

S E Q U E L

OF A

L E T T E R

TO A

Young Gentleman of *Oxford*.

By EDWARD BENTHAM, B.D.

Fellow of ORIEL COLLEGE.

Εγὼ μὲν ἔν, ἔτ' ἄλλοτε πάποτε πρὸς γράειν ἐλόμην λέγειν,
ὅ, τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν πεπεισμένος ὧς τῶν τε αὖ γιγνώσκω,
πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, ἐδὲν ὑποσελάμενος, πεπαρρησίασμαι. κ. τ. λ.
Demosth. Philipp. 1. §. 17.

L O N D O N :

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R. M. T. R.

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Advertisement.

The Reader of this Pamphlet is desired previously to peruse the following Extract from Mr. Hooker ; and to allow the Writer so much Benefit of the Apology therein contained as shall seem reasonable.

“ **H**E that goeth about to persuade a Multitude, that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable Hearers ; because they know the manifold Defects whereunto every Kind of Regiment is subject ; but the Secret Lets and Difficulties, which in publick Proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the Judgment to consider. And because such as openly reprove supposed Disorders of State, are taken for principal Friends to the common Benefit of all, and for Men

that carry singular Freedom of Mind : Under this fair and plausible Colour, whatsoever they utter, passeth for good and current. That which wanteth in the Weight of their Speech, is supplied by the Aptness of Men's Minds to accept and believe it. Whereas on the other Side, if we maintain Things that are established, we have not only to strive with a Number of heavy Prejudices deeply rooted in the Hearts of Men, who think that herein we serve the Time, and speak in Favour of the present State, because thereby we either hold or seek Preferment ; but also to bear such Exceptions, as Minds so averted beforehand usually take against that which they are loth should be poured into them”.

Mr. Hooker's Eccles. Polity, B. I. §. 1.

A L E T-

A
L E T T E R
T O A

Fellow of a College.

DEAR SIR,

YOU must have heard how liberally the Charge of general Disaffection to his Majesty's Person and Government hath of late been thrown upon the University of *Oxford*. Fellows of Colleges, who, by the Influence of their Example and Advice, are supposed able to check the Folly, and direct the Judgments of younger People, are more especially affected by the Censure; and consequently are under special Obligations to disculpate themselves, and give all the Satisfaction they can to their Superiors, concerning the Body, whereof they are Members. You will not then wonder, either
at

at my thus publickly declaring my own Sentiments upon this Occasion, or at my addressing them to one of my own Order.

In a former *Letter*, I considered a *young Gentleman's* Disaffection, as founded on a wrong political Principle; viz. that Subjects are the absolute Property of their Sovereign; and further, that a Right of Dominion here in *England* is indefeasibly inherent in Princes by lineal Descent, ——— Positions, which carry with them a high Insult upon the natural Rights of Mankind, and consequently upon Common Sense.

The Enemies of the present Establishment are wise enough to see how unpopular, and indeed how utterly indefensible, the Cause of the Pretender must be, if suffered to rest entirely upon that Foundation. Reserving therefore to themselves the Liberty of still abusing the Credulity of well-meaning Persons by taking Advantage of their Simplicity, their Inexperience and Unacquaintedness with our History, to perplex their natural Notions of Justice and Equity with the old System of the Party, consisting of a Set of Propositions, some of them not true, and others, so far as they are true, nothing at all to the Purpose; they are now become as loud as any of their Neighbours in putting in their Claim to that Liberty, which was established by the Revolution, and
argue

argue thus ; “ If the Revolution brought about
 “ by King *William III.* was justifiable, Why
 “ may not the People seek their Redress of
 “ Grievances on any other Occasion, by the
 “ same or similar Methods ? ” The present
 they take for granted will be allowed on all
 Hands to be a Season of intolerable Grievances,
 the Redress whereof hath been long called for
 in vain ; Witness the Murmurs of Discontent
 that are often heard in private Conversation,
 and the more publick Expostulations from the
 Press : The People therefore are exhorted to
 do Justice to themselves, and to assert their
 Right to dissolve a Government, that is no
 longer exercised in a Manner agreeable to their
 Desires, nor placed in such Hands as they can
 confide in.

But inasmuch as any Body of Men without
 a Head must soon be dissolved and moulder to
 Pieces, Who shall invigorate this Cause of
 Liberty, and cement this glorious League in its
 Defence ? ——— *He*, certainly, whose Family-
 Relation to the Crown may silence the Pre-
 tensions of other Competitors : The remem-
 brance of his long Distresses will teach Him
 Caution to avoid the Errors which occasioned
 them ; and will inspire Him with Gratitude
 to effectuate the noble Purposes for which He
 is called to so honourable a Post ; Behold the
 Man,

* *Ever so*

* *Everſo miſſum ſuccurrere ſaclo !*

This is the plauſible Appearance under which the modern *Jacobite* hath of late choſen to repreſent his Cauſe: He addreſſes himſelf to the Hopes of the Indigent, to the Jealouſy of the Envious, to the Weakneſs of female Compaſſion, to the Reſentment of the Diſappointed, to the Ambition of the Soldier, and to the generous Warmth of the Patriot, — Paſſions theſe, all of them very active in their Nature, eaſy to be raiſed, and eager in the Purſuit of their reſpective Objects.

And ſo long as Men continue to ſpeak the Language of their Paſſions, their Inventions can ſcarce ever be at a Loſs to revile any Government. If the worſt Adminiſtration will find ſome Advocates, the beſt will not be without its Oppoſers: If they, who thrive and flouriſh in the Sunſhine of Power, will be apt to praiſe that Warmth and Light, which ſpreads Chearfulneſs and Glory all around them; Others, whoſe Lot is caſt in a colder Clime, will not fail to regard the Government under which they live, with Indifference or Diſaffection. The Goodneſs of the Times we naturally eſtimate from the Good, which is fallen to our own Share: And we have ſeldom the Ingenuity to place our Want of the Means of

* The Motto placed under a well-known Print of the Pretender's eldeſt Son.

Hap-

Happiness to the Account of our own Misconduct. Some Relief there is in the very uttering of a Complaint; some Comfort it is to rail at the Possessors of what we want ourselves; some Right we may seem to have to express our Resentment, when we think ourselves overlooked in that Dispensation of Wealth and Honour, which comes from the Hand of one, whose Character is that of a Common Father to his People. We each of us see, that our own particular Wants might be relieved; and what it seems possible for Governors to confer, we think we have a Right to receive. Something, in short, we feel wanting to our Happiness; upon this we fix our Eye; and, by long indulging our Envy or Spleen, we come to think the Administration, and perhaps also the whole Constitution of the Government to be entirely wrong; grow conceited on the imagined Discovery; as if every Detraction from the Wisdom and Integrity of our Superiors was an Addition to our own: And, though perhaps we have notoriously shewn ourselves unable to conduct our Family Affairs, or personal Concerns, with tolerable Prudence and Oeconomy, we are ready enough to undertake the Business of reforming the Publick, and retrieving the sinking Interest and Honour of our Country. We seem unmindful upon how very slight and precarious Authority we implicitly receive Intelligence to the Disadvantage of our Governors; how lia-

ble we are to mistake in forming our Judgments of their political Conduct; and how rashly we deal out our Censures. Nor do we enough consider, how unable the wisest Counsels of publick Authority are to reach every particular Case, or to relieve all Necessities; how often the most beneficial Designs are frustrated by the Counter-action of other States and Kingdoms, and also, by what are called Accidents in the Course of human Affairs; and, lastly, what Abatement ought further to be made by candid and equitable Judges in Consideration of the Infirmities to which all Men are liable.

The political Conduct of our Governors certainly opens to us a very large Field of Enquiry: For it comprehends All that from Time to Time hath exercised the Attention of the Parliament, the Cabinet, and the Exchange; every Thing that hath been thought worth debating with Regard to Church or State; the Circumstances of our military Preparations and Operations by Sea and Land; and the personal Merits or Demerits of those who have occupied the publick Employments, or been Candidates for them.

For my own Part, I readily confess my Abilities not to be commensurate to this Enquiry; nor do I think it becomes one of my
Rank

Rank and Order to indulge his Curiosity, or at least his Tongue with Regard to several Parts of it. For I have no particular Title to think myself placed as a Guard and Watchman over the Virtue or Prudence of my Governors. At the same time I flatter myself, that I act a reasonable Part in wishing well to the present Establishment, and that I am able to justify myself in doing so. I should not chuse to sleep amidst the political Transactions of my Country: neither yet would I dream waking; nor put myself so much in the Power of any Man, or Set of Men, as to be roused up on every Alarm, which perhaps the fanciful, the designing, or the discontented, are pleased to give; as if the Voice of my Country implored my Assistance on every Miscarriage of a good Scheme in Politicks, or upon the Rejection of a plausible one, or the Rumour of a hurtful one. And, although I should be sometimes mistaken in thinking better of my Governors than they really deserve, and although such Mistake should contribute to produce some Inconvenience; yet a moderate Degree of Credulity, in Persons of inferior Stations, seems rather commendable than criminal, and, in all Ranks, greatly preferable to the opposite Extreme.

We that are common Subjects appoint our Representatives to provide for the publick Welfare and Security; and by them we are to

judge and act. Supposing our Knowledge of the State and Interests of the Nation to be ever so considerable, yet they, whose Understandings have been really improved by a liberal Education, must see the great Impropriety of confounding the different Parts which Persons in their political Capacities have to act; They will be cautious, how they arrogate to themselves the Exercise of those Functions, which the Peace and Order of Government in general, as well as the Nature of our particular Constitution, requires to have restrained to a Few.

A Member of either House of Parliament indeed is but a Subject: But when acting in his Parliamentary Capacity is something more; and hath Privileges, which it ill becomes any Man of a private Station to usurp. As a Law-giver, He may dictate without Arrogance; as a Counsellor to the King, He does well to advise and exhort with honest Freedom and Boldness; and as a Guardian intrusted with the most valuable Interests of his Countrymen, it is no Impertinence in Him to be vigilant and inquisitive, and to a certain Degree even jealous in every Thing that may affect their Welfare. Moreover, since the Language of a good Man, acting under a Sense of Obligation to exert himself in so noble a Cause, will naturally partake of the Warmth of his Zeal, He may well be entitled to great Freedom of Speech;

Speech; and not only stand exempted from the Cognizance of ordinary Tribunals, but justify himself in his own Mind for using a Liberty that he is called to. And so long as the Constitution of the Government, and the Good of the Whole continues to be a common Centre, wherein the Affections of our Nobles and Senators are united, no great Mischief ordinarily can arise from their expressing ever so strongly, in the proper Place, provided it be honestly and decently, their Difference of Sentiments concerning the Means requisite to advance the publick Welfare.

To the Wisdom and Integrity of this Council therefore the Nature of our Constitution refers the *British* Subject for the Redress of publick Grievances. Some intemperate Patrons of Liberty indeed point out another Tribunal, of all others the most wild in its Proceedings, most capricious in its Determinations, and violent in its Punishments; namely, the Judgment of the People in the Gross; where every Man thinks it meritorious to exert his Zeal, as a Counsellor, a Judge, or Executioner. In which Circumstances, no sooner is a Contest begun, but the Scene is opened for the Display of all that Folly and Perverseness, all that Craft and Violence and Revenge, which are the Reproach of human Nature, and which it is one Design of Religion to reform in Principle, as it is of civil Government to subdue in Practice,

Practice. The best Cause can here scarce be conducted unexceptionably; It will be peculiarly liable to suffer by the honest Simplicity of its Managers; nor will any Remedy be sought for almost any Grievance, real or imagined, but by such Methods as Fury and Impatience, perhaps excited and directed by cool Villany, may suggest.

But a Friend to the present Government need not rest in these general Considerations; but may safely enter into the particular Objections, which are frequently urged by disaffected Persons. Their Plea is the Complaint of Grievances. I answer, that, Every Person is not qualified to judge of these; If judge fairly, they will appear much less than they are imagined; There would have been greater, if the Revolution had not happened; There will most probably be far greater, if the Pretender be placed on the Throne.

Whether our Condition hath been better'd by the Revolution, or Whether the Grievances, then complained of, still remain, every Man may be satisfied, by comparing what he sees and feels with the several Articles contained in the * *Bill of Rights*.

Let it then be examined, whether any Instance can be produced of the King's attempt-

* 1 Will. and Mar. Sess. 2. c. 2.

ing to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom,

By assuming and exercising a Power of dispensing with or suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws without Consent of Parliament ;

By erecting illegal Courts ;

By levying Money by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, or in other manner than the same hath been granted ;

By Denying the Right of the Subject to petition the King ;

By raising or keeping a standing Army within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament ;

By disarming Subjects being Protestants, of Arms for their Defence, suitable to their Condition and allowed by Law ;

By violating the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament ;

By impeaching, or questioning in any Court or Place out of Parliament, the Freedom of Speech and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament ;

By requiring excessive Bail, or imposing excessive Fines, or inflicting cruel and unusual Punishments ;

By admitting Jurors not duly impannelled and returned, or unqualified ;

By making Grants and Promises of Fines and Forfeitures of Persons before Conviction ;

By

By refusing to hold Parliaments frequently for the Redress of Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the Laws.

In this Manner the Authority of our Legislature hath set forth a Description of those political Evils, from which our Ancestors were delivered by the Revolution. Very ample Provision hath been made for our Security against the wretched and uncomfortable Prospect of them for the future. And such Deliverance surely affords sufficient Reason for every true Lover of his Country to rejoice in that fortunate Event as a very signal Interposition of Providence in its behalf. For though the People neither *petitioned* for, nor claimed any new *Rights* by that *Bill*, which, as its Title imports, is merely *Declaratory*; yet it is no small Advantage to have our Rights declared and recognized by the Crown in so authentick and clear a manner, as to cut off all Pretence of calling them in Question for the future. At the same time, I do not wonder that common Minds are less affected with a due Sense of this Blessing: For while their Experience does not furnish them with any Instance of Infringement of those Rights, they have no Conviction of the Happiness of standing free from such Evils; no more, than the Generality of Mankind have Sense of Gratitude to Almighty God for the daily Continuance of
their

their Health, and the other common Blessings of Life, until their Possession of them is disturbed or endangered.

We know indeed that the Support of the Revolution hath engaged the Nation in large Expences. But whatever Expences were requisite for its Support, were truly necessary; and the Burthen of them is owing not to its Friends, but its Enemies. Besides, whether the Nation would have had Credit enough to contract its Debts, or Commerce enough to enable it to pay its Taxes without the Revolution, may well be questioned: Whereof, methinks, I need no other Proofs than that Strength, unknown and unsuspected before, which our Country hath exerted ever since, and that Unanimity with which the Trading Part of it hath constantly declared itself in Favour of the Revolution, and the Protestant Succession established in Consequence thereof:

Nor is it by any means certain, that those or the like Expences would never have been incurred, if the Succession of the Crown had continued without Interruption in the Pretender's Branch of the *Stuart* Family. For can you think, that *France* hath all along been influenced to take Part in this Quarrel, out of any personal Attachment? Is it not chiefly from a Principle of Ambition and a jealous Apprehension of our Power and Wealth? The

Series of our History abundantly verifies the Observation made above two Centuries ago by Sir * *Thomas More*, that the grand political Maxim of *France* with Respect to this, now happily united, Kingdom, was to play the Forces of one Part of it against the other; and, in order to intimidate the *English* from opposing its ambitious Designs or to distract their Forces, the *Scots* were kept in Pay to invade *England*, and the Cause of some Pretender to its Crown constantly espoused.

It is then, we see, in perfect Conformity to her antient Policy that *France*, at much Hazard and Cost, hath continually fomented our national Divisions, and encreased our Expences. If she hath done this with any sincere Desire of seeing the present Pretender in quiet Possession of the *British* Throne, it is probably in View of first weakening its Strength by a long continued Series of civil War: Or perhaps from the Prospect of that evil Influence, which the Establishment of a Popish Government in this Kingdom must naturally have upon our commercial Interests, and consequently upon our Power. These Things being considered, is it probable that *France* would

* *Habendos paratos, velut in Statione, Scotos ad omnem intentos occasionem, si quid se commoveant Angli, protinus immittendos. Ad hæc fovendum exulem nobilem aliquem occulte, namque id aperte ne fiat prohibent sædera, qui id regnum sibi deberi contendat, ut eâ velut ansâ contineat suspectum sibi principem.* (Utop. L. i. p. 84.)

have neglected to espouse the Interest of some other Pretender, especially upon so fair a Plea as that of the present Pretender's Supposititiousness? There was a Time when Doubts concerning that Matter generally prevailed throughout the Nation;—that they never have been cleared up, is certain. Where then is the great Improbability, that They, who at present hold the Sacredness and Indefeasibleness of the Succession to the Crown by hereditary Right, might have been taught to urge this very Objection against the Pretender, which they now adopt in his Favour? As occasions of popular Discontents can never be wanting in any State, the Pretence of this Objection, when supported by so powerful an Advocate as the Sword and Policy of *France*, might certainly have gone a great Way towards distressing the Occupier of the Throne by such an ambiguous Title, and brought heavy Burthens on this Country in order to support him.

But however this might be, what great Advantages are there which the Disaffected promise themselves from a total Change of Government? A Relief no doubt from our exorbitant Debts, — from Bribery and Corruption, — from a Dependence on foreign Interests, — and other Grievances arising from Mismanagement of our national Affairs since the Revolution.

If it be here meant to compass the Annihilation of the Publick Debts by the means of such Frugality and good Management as will enable us to pay them off, and which under the present Government, some think, is not to be expected ; it may well be asked, How are these Gentlemen sure, that under another Government there will be so much better Management? Do they know, Who will be employed, or How they will behave? Are the Pretender's Followers likely to come less hungry and rapacious? or his Ministers to be honest Men than the present? Is it not a very round-about, and uncertain, and dangerous Way of endeavouring to lighten the Burthen by attempting to change the Government? For the Attempt, supposing it unsuccessful, cannot fail to enlarge the Publick Debt; as we find hath been the Consequence of every Rebellion, or Conspiracy, or Invasion since the Revolution.

But, if the Relief intended is to arise from an arbitrary Act of the Legislature, cancelling at once all our Debts ; it should be remembered, that the Proceedings made use of in contracting them have been altogether regular and agreeable to Law. Nor is it at all material to our Obligation of paying them, whether or no some of the Persons from time to time employed in the Administration of our national Affairs

Affairs have, as many affect to talk, wanted common Sense or common Honesty. The Creditors of the Publick for Debts already contracted have the same Right to their Money, that any private Man hath to his Demand upon a mortgag'd Estate, or that the Proprietor hath to the Remainder. It is indeed a melancholy Affair for a young Gentleman to succeed to a fine Estate deeply encumbered: His immediate Ancestors were perhaps pitiable for their unmerited Misfortunes, or blameable for their Extravagance, or ridiculously weak in suffering themselves to be cheated: Possibly also his Guardians were weak or wicked in the Conduct of his Affairs; or it may be, they were necessarily engaged in expensive Law-suits to secure his Inheritance. Chuse which you will: yet his Creditors, at least many of them, may have been free from all Guilt on the Occasion. Now what Opinion would you have of that Person's Honesty, who, upon such Considerations, would even wish to sponge off a Mortgage, could the cunning of any Lawyer contrive how to do it with Impunity? The Rule of Justice is invariably the same in both Cases; nor is there any Difference, but with respect to our having no such determinate Knowledge of the Person to be defrauded in the former Case, as we have in the latter. But whoever industriously sets himself to corrupt his Principles about Right and Wrong with regard to one Object, will scarce restrain the

the Contagion from extending itself to others, that he perhaps at first never dreamt of; and from dwelling with Pleasure upon the Thought of finding his Account in defrauding Strangers, will gradually wear off all Scruple about injuring his Neighbour and Friend.

These Creditors are indeed sometimes spoken of as sucking the Blood of the Nation, and intitled to no Mercy. But surely nothing but the Vehemence of Party-spirit can render any one insensible, how monstrously unjust this way of thinking is, and what Distresses it would occasion. By far the most of them are our Fellow-Subjects; and what they receive, they refund. Great Multitudes of them are not only innocent, but helpless Creatures; possibly also some of them may be near Relations or Friends of these very Gentlemen; and a considerable Part of the Provision made for the poorer Clergy by Queen *Anne's* Bounty, in Conjunction with other Benefactions, is lodg'd in the publick Funds. How shall we reconcile this pretended Love of their Country, with such an utter Absence of all Good-nature and Humanity towards the Individuals which compose it? — 'Tis indeed entirely of a Piece with that Character made up of moral Contradictions, which we have seen sometimes exhibited by Men exceedingly zealous in the Display of Publick Spirit and the Commendation of Publick Virtue, without seeming to pay a serious Regard to any one single moral Excellency in their private Behaviour. I must

I must add, that considering the Number of Persons, Foreigners as well as *Britons*, that must be injured by an arbitrary Annihilation of the Publick Debts, one may justly apprehend, that no such Scheme of flagrant Injustice can ever be carried into Execution without causing a civil War, and the calling in of a foreign Force ; which might subject the landed Property of many, if not All, Gentlemen indiscriminately to a Redivision by the strongest Sword. It is scarce credible, that the quiet Possessors of landed Estates will ever be overtaken with such a general Infatuation, as to risque the Event of such a Contest : and I doubt not but they will always have too much Sense of National Faith and Honour ever to give Occasion to it.

But after all, supposing the Pretender plac'd on the Throne, this Debt may not be annihilated, but a Compromise be made on Condition of its being continued. Monied Bodies have great Power, and will do their utmost to court a new Government, when they see they must submit to it. Nor should it be forgot, that no Man can tell, but this Restoration may involve us in two Debts instead of one ; no Man can tell, what Debts the Pretender may have contracted for Maintenance and Assistance ; what Artifices he may use to pay them, even though his Followers should be

be disposed to cheat both Sides ; nor what Inconveniencies his refusing to fulfil such Engagements may bring on this Nation.

As to the Imputation of Bribery and Corruption, I wish it was a Charge that did not affect all Parties. But the plain Truth is, every Side hath been faulty to such a Degree, that it is hard to say, in many, if not in most, Cases, Which begun ; perhaps, Which hath gone farthest ; and therefore Which hath a Right to complain. Neither I believe can the Disaffected help thinking, but that Persons, who have been loud against Bribery, have afterwards been very guilty of it ;—indeed have been very loud against it in order to have it in their Power to be guilty of it. And what greater Security is there of Their Friends, than of other Men ?

It is lamentable to observe that so little Seriousness is preserved in Elections ; particularly in abstaining from Bribery, against which the Law hath provided by a most solemn Act of Religion ;—that, however inadvertent we might have been else, we should not from thence be led of Course to consider them in a moral View ; —that we seldom hear People talk of them in that View, without betraying at the same time, that their real Motive is the spiteful Pleasure of railing at those who have been shrewder Managers than themselves ; —that in a Matter professedly submitted to the Judgments of the Electors

as free intelligent Beings, we should be apt to exercise so little Candor and Forbearance towards those who differ from us;—that where the Good of the Community is the pretended Object of all their Aims, the several Individuals, who chance to differ, should be so very willing, nay glad to believe each other to be bad Men;—that there should be so much of mutual Exasperation, so much Contrivance to shame, confound, and prejudice each other. These are dreadful Evils of a Party-spirit; And Corruption, which that Spirit will always produce, hath many others attending it; which, I heartily wish all Persons would ask themselves, whether they are impartially and in earnest desirous of redressing. Such as are, will soon see that the most accurate Provision of human Laws will prove but vain Formalities, till the Dictates of natural Conscience, kept steady and upright by Religious Considerations, shall give them their due Efficacy. Neither can it ordinarily be expected that the lower Rank of Mankind should think and act with Seriousness and a due Regard to Reason and Equity in these Matters, until their Betters can be induced to set them a good Example.

If the Esteem of a Gentleman's Probity and Abilities, with a competent Estate, be the true Parliamentary Qualification; Let it fairly have its due Weight; Let not Money spent in the Neighbourhood be substituted in its place;

Let no Advantage be taken of the dependent and necessitous State of any Person ; no Persuasion or Terror be made use of, either by the Candidate himself or by his Friend in his Behalf : For whether or no You will allow that such an Election is carried by Bribery, the Influence under which the Voters act is as certainly a corrupt one, though not an illegal one, as where the Vote is more professedly purchased. Our Law doth what it can : For it resents the Crime no less than our natural Sense of Honour abhors the Imputation of it : And much stronger Laws have been made for its Punishment by the Authority, which these Gentlemen want to overturn, than ever were before. It is very true, they have not the Effect that might be wished. But then, besides what hath been already observed, we should reflect, that it is the Glory of our Law to admit of no defamatory Allegations or common Rumours unsupported by proper Proof. We know that all Parties claim the Benefit of its Caution in this Respect : The Protection that arises from thence is not denied to Those, whom strong circumstantial Proof, confirmed by the Voice of common Fame, declares to be Enemies to that Establishment from whence the Law derives its Vigour and Efficacy : It often stands them in great Stead : And therefore it is extremely rash in Them to call for taking off these Restraints, and letting its Vengeance loose on Others.

But

But if any one thinks the Laws are still defective, surely the Remedy is proposing better Laws, not overturning the Constitution. Or, if the Complaint be founded not on the Insufficiency of the Laws, but of the Execution of them; first, let it be shewn, When, and Where, and by Whom Justice hath been denied, when a legal Process hath been formed and duly supported: And then, let such Remedy, as the Constitution allows, be sought against the Offenders. But how will the coming in of the Pretender make the Voters in Elections less venal? What have Disputes between private Subjects and their Practices of Knavery one upon another, and the Misbehaviour, supposing such, of a Magistrate now and then, or a Determination of a Court of Law, or a House of Parliament, that we are not satisfied with, to do with the Question, Whether our Allegiance be due to the King? How ridiculous a Piece of Casuistry is it to think that one Man's Perjury in taking a Bribe at an Election, or another Man's Opinion that it is not proved against him, can justify my own Perjury in becoming an Abettor of Sedition and Treason against a Prince, who hath constantly made the Laws of the Land the Rule and Measure of his own Behaviour. — If this just Praise be denied to his Majesty, let it be shewn to which of his Predecessors it ever more justly belonged. But if it be urged,

that the King's Ministers are guilty in this Respect; I answer, The King doth not protect them against Law; They alone are punishable; and the Way to attain Credit in attacking them, is to give unsuspected Proofs of Loyalty to the King; and never to attack them, but when they are plainly in the Wrong.

But if we consider the Business of Elections, as a Contest or Tryal of Skill and Strength between Rivals for Power (which without doubt is frequently the Case); What wonder is it, if, when Persons out of publick Employments scruple not to act with a determined, nay a declared, Resolution of distressing the Possessors of them at all Events, these latter should take the Liberty to secure themselves by Methods equally unjustifiable with those whereby they find themselves attacked? — If any Thing can be said, and something may, to excuse the Violences and Artifices used in War, it is the Presumption that our Adversary is employing the same Methods to destroy or molest us.

As to the foreign Dependence, which his Majesty's *Hanover* Dominions are supposed to have brought us under, I confess that my Notions are imperfect how far that Connexion may or may not be burthensome to this Kingdom. The most usual, and the
natural

natural Thing to expect is, that the Interests of the less considerable Country will be made subservient to those of the more considerable, when they interfere: Which those of *Britain* and *Hanover* can only do accidentally. And, if there should be for a time some Degree of that particular Affection to a native Country, which every worthy Man feels and approves in himself, and therefore should excuse in others; it must of Course lessen and be lost in a while.

Thus much I think is certain, that the Possessors of those Dominions, before their Connexion with *Britain*, were of no small Consideration in the *Germanick* Body; and that they were as able to maintain their Independency and the Splendor and Dignity of their Court as any neighbouring Princes. Nor on the one hand do I see, how the Circumstance of the Sovereign's holding his Court almost altogether in *Britain*, can have impaired his *Hanoverian* Finances, or rendered him in his Electoral Capacity at all more necessitous. Nor on the other hand, is it either notorious, or proved, however confidently it may have been averred, that the Ambition of *Hanover* hath been gratified by any Acquisitions made at the Expence, or tending to the Disadvantage of *Britain*, or that any thing of this Nature hath been attempted.

But if we consider *Hanover* merely as an Ally, it is certain that lesser Princes of the Empire

pire have been courted for their Alliance by Powers, that well know their own Interest; as surely *France* will be allowed to do: Why then must such an Alliance be disadvantageous to *Britain*? The Assistance of the *Hanoverian* Forces hath in some critical Emergencies proved extremely serviceable to an acknowledged *British* Cause; if opposing the Ambition of our most formidable Neighbour be such. And if its Defence, as an Ally, may sometimes have proved expensive, is not this the Case of all other States with whom we are in Alliance? Should we think it of no Consequence, if his Majesty, as Elector of *Hanover*, should, in order to advance his Interest in that Capacity, contract Alliances with those Powers, who are no natural Allies to *Britain*, but justly suspected of having contrary Interests? And is it not of great Consequence, that the two Parts of his Dominions should be in Friendship with each other? And are we not concerned to cultivate and support that Friendship?

Different Dominions, subsisting under One Sovereign, like the Children of a common Parent, and even those which are connected by mere Alliance, will always have their mutual Jealousies. Thus, not to say that possibly many of the King's *Hanoverian* Subjects may entertain as hard Suspicions of Our Interests being unduly preferred, as some here do of
Theirs,

Theirs; Ask many a warm *Englishman*, what he thinks of our Connexion with *Scotland*, and he will tell you, that, 'twere well for *England* if *Scotland* were sunk in the Ocean; and the *North-Briton* will be as ready to repay the Compliment: *Ireland* by another will be sentenced to the same Fate, as a Nursery of Papists and Soldiers for our Enemies; And some of her Sons will exclaim against *England* as an exhausting Oppressor: Another will be for sinking the *Dutch*. And perhaps a plain, simple minded Gentleman, having seen in some little Book of Geography an Account of the Wealth and Power of *Britain*, the Produce of its several Counties, and the personal Valour of its Inhabitants, can not apprehend the Necessity we are under of having any Alliances at all; or what real Benefit we receive from our Trade or our Colonies; and consequently, why we should be at the continual Expence of supporting either. — Thus it is also in Men's private Affairs, when they are great Lovers of their dear Persons; and indulge the pleasing Thought of Self-Importance: The Trouble which the Connexion of their Friendships puts them to, they are mightily apt to grudge; without having the Generosity or Prudence to reflect on the Advantages they already have received, or may occasionally receive in Return.

But

But be this Connexion what it will, do we think that the Pretender will stand free from all Dependencies upon foreign Courts,—from such Dependencies as will be infinitely more prejudicial and dangerous to this Kingdom? Can even common Gratitude release Him and his Family from their continual Obligations to the See of *Rome*? Can it be conceived that *France* and *Spain* have stipulated no Returns of Gratitude for their Assistance, no Sacrifice to be made of Things valuable to Us, and therefore of great Advantage to Them? And what of this Sort hath been so much as hinted determinately with Regard to his Majesty's *German* Dominions by the most malicious Asperfer of his Government?

Perhaps I shall be accused of writing with a manifest Bias to the Cause I espouse. And thus much I freely confess, that my Wishes are to find the Government established in my Country to be properly administer'd; from the same Principle that every candid Man hopes to find his accused Neighbour innocent. It is certainly wrong in any Subject to indulge himself in evil Jealousies against his Governors; or to be instrumental in propagating scandalous Rumours and Insinuations against them: I do not think that Discontentedness is a Virtue; but that it is my Duty gladly to acquiesce in fair Answers, as I trust the foregoing are, to the Objections which are raised against the
Justice

Justice of their Administration; and patiently to bear, for a time even considerable Inconveniencies, if they happen, rather than run the Hazard of making my own Condition, and that of the whole Community, lastingly miserable in Points of vastly greater Moment.

It is therefore without any great Emotion that I hear loose and general and undistinguishing Assertions, that popular Schemes, directly calculated to remove the Grounds of national Discontent, have been defeated in various Instances since the Revolution; and this, by the supposed Influence of Persons well-affected to the Protestant Establishment, perhaps immediately concerned in the Administration. For ought we not to reflect to what extravagant Lengths our Countrymen have been sometimes led to carry their Suspicions; which, after all, have proved entirely groundless? And ought not this to teach us some Diffidence, both of our own Imaginations, and of our Informers and Guides in political Matters? May it not be allowed, that Projects may carry a plausible Appearance, which Men of Experience nevertheless know to be impracticable? May they not, however beneficial in some Respects, prove equally injurious in others? May they not, however good in themselves, be urged unreasonably; and with a direct Aim, not so much to serve the Publick, as to distress some particular Persons employed in its Service? There is surely the same kind of Prudence necessary

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cessary

cessary in the conducting of national Affairs as in Domestick. He that will suffer himself to be allured out of a regular Plan of Conduct and Oeconomy by the flattering Appearance of every rising Prospect of Advantage, will soon experience the Punishment of his own Desultoriness and Inconstancy. And how can we expect it should be otherwise in respect of Kingdoms; whose Connexions with other States are numerous, and whose internal Administration consists of so many Parts, and those so very complicated? One need not wonder then at the Backwardness of wise Men to close with every specious Project for Innovations and Changes.

But whatever Imperfections or Abuses we now perceive in the Exercise of Government, Do we really imagine, that no unnecessary Burthens might have been brought upon the People, and those for very bad Purposes, if the Revolution had not been? — and that all political Evils must necessarily cease upon the Introduction of another Royal Family? What mighty Charm is likely to operate on this Occasion, that will so certainly dispel at once the Wickedness and Follies of Men, and correct the common Accidents to which human Affairs are liable by the very Condition of Nature? — As well might we hope (and perhaps some Poet will promise so much,) that the Golden Age will once more be restored;

stored ; that the Seasons will all bloom in one perpetual Spring ; and that the very Inequalities of our Climate will settle into the celebrated Mildness and Fruitfulness of the Fortunate Islands. — Or, without a Figure, Do you think that no Knaves, profligate or hypocritical, would then be able to find an Entrance into Posts of Honour and Profit,—or that no weak Men would be introduced by their Friends ? Was this the Case in King *Charles II's*, in King *James II's*, or even in Queen *Anne's* Reign ? And why must the Nature of Men and Things be all at once inverted and changed at this supposed happy Period of the second Restoration ? Why must it be taken for granted that this Pretender to the Crown will learn more Prudence and Caution from his Distresses than King *Charles II.* ? Instead of Gratitude to the Publick, may we not rather expect from him Resentment, and Resolution to destroy that Spirit of Liberty, whereby He hath suffered so long ? And what Reason hath any Man to hope, that He will consent to and continue even such Restraints, as are at present on the Power of the Crown ? His Family hath constantly laid in a Claim to absolute regal Power. This Claim hath never been renounced by Him or his professed Advocates. And His military Force, if ever He hath enough to bring Him in, will be of such a Nature, as must easily and almost necessarily make him arbitrary ?

Upon the Whole, All that can be pleaded in Favour of a Restoration of the Pretender is this ; that there is a bare Possibility, that Things may be altered by it for the better. But, if the Certainty be unquestionable, that all the Blessings we now enjoy must be exposed to imminent Danger ; and if the Probability be strong in the highest Degree, that the Evils we complain of will be doubled in their Weight, what wise Man, even was he left at Liberty in point of Conscience, would be for trying the Experiment ?

As to those who labour for a Change of Government with the sordid View of introducing themselves into Posts of Honour and Profit, it would, I fear, be in vain to address Them with moral Considerations, drawn from the Wickedness of sacrificing the Tranquillity and Happiness of their Country to any Scheme for personal Advancement. But there are some very important prudential Considerations, which it certainly concerns Them to reflect on : What a Number of Persons have followed the Fortunes of the Pretender, and herd about him as his immediate Attendants ; — How many others are retained in foreign Service to take Advantage of some Season of National Distress, and strike a decisive Blow in his Favour ; — How many, lastly, from time to time have acted as Emissaries

ries to keep alive and invigorate the Spirit of Disaffection in each of the three Kingdoms ; Let them, I say, consider these Persons, all united into one Body, and laying in their several Claims, to, what They will call, a just Reward of their long and faithful Services ; And they will soon be convinced, how much it concerns every present Possessor of Land or other Property to bethink himself, at whose Expence the Gratification must be made.

That they, who have nothing to lose, but a Life already made uncomfortable by their Folly or Discontent, should be easy about the Introduction of a new Prince upon such Terms, is not surprizing. But a Zeal for it, or even Indifference about it, in such as have valuable Interests to risque, is perfect Infatuation ; inasmuch as for every Accession of Honour and Wealth, which any such Person may chance to receive, his Friends and Relations will be likely, some, if not all of them, to suffer extremely.

But it may well be questioned, Whether one Adventurer among a hundred can receive any personal Advantage from the Success of treasonable Schemes against the present Government. This, I say, is doubtful ; not only because the Claimants among themselves are so many, but because, as Experience hath shewn, particularly at the *Restoration*, it will be found expedient

expedient to continue several of the other Side in their respective Posts ; partly for their Knowledge of Business, and partly to strengthen the new Government. And *Jacobites* can not doubt, but such profligate Creatures, as they imagine their Adversaries to be, will do their utmost to press in, when they see it their Interest. And what will the Reflexions of the Old Zealots for the Pretender be, when they see Such advanced above them ?

Leaving therefore these unworthy Wretches, let us briefly consider the Design of some, who assume the Character of the most exalted Patriotism. The Pretender, it seems, is to Them no more than a fit Instrument to throw the present Government into Confusion : This being done ; the Constitution is to be remodelled ; Monarchy extirpated ; and the glorious Scheme of Universal Liberty completely executed.

But ought not these Gentlemen, who profess so much Tendernefs for the Natural Rights, so much Concern for the publick Happiness, ought they not to reflect a little upon those dismal Scenes of National Distress, which must first be acted, before ever their hopeful Project can take Effect ? Recollect within Yourself what passed when the late Rebels were on their March Southward ; And ask any Man of Experience, or consult
your

your own Thoughts, what must have been the Consequences if that Calamity had made further Advances upon us. Consider the Perplexities of Mind, under which the more thinking Part of the Nation began to labour; (I mean those Persons, who were easy in their Fortunes and happy in their Families) What a Stagnation was coming on in almost every Branch of Commerce; The Merchant justly diffident of the Success of his Market, and without Security for the Conveyance of his Goods; — The Factor unauthorized to employ the Manufacturers; — and These latter consequently without the Means of subsisting themselves or their Families by honest Industry; — The Farmer more immediately exposed to Acts of Violence and Rapine; while the Evil in every Shape threatened to revert upon the Gentleman, and deprive him of his Ease and Affluence! And to conceive more fully what this national Distress might have risen to, Read the Accounts of Wars, or rather take them from the Reports of those, who have been Eye-witnesses of the Operations of a Campaign, even where both Sides have been esteemed decently regardful of the Law of Nations: What Man, who hath been accustomed to the Blessings of a civilized Life, can reflect without Horror upon the Violences therein usually practised? Consider in the next place how vastly every Evil must be aggravated by those usual Attendants of Civil War, Party-bitterness,

bitterness, personal Hatred, and Revenge, acting in Concert with Avarice and Ambition. And then reflect to what a Degree of Brutality must He be arrived, who can harden himself against those Sentiments of Tenderness and Concern, which are the very Foundation of Social Happiness, or can give Occasion to their being exercised by Others in so dreadful a Manner, without having the least Ground to hope, that any good End will be served by it. For indeed the Scheme itself will appear, when it comes to be explained, no less absurd, than the Means, whereby these Persons propose to effect it, are shocking. And of this, to do them Justice, they appear somewhat sensible. For the Whole, that they favour us with upon the Subject, consists almost entirely in high Panegyrics on Liberty, and vehement Invectives against the Enemies of it; without condescending to set forth at all distinctly, what their Plan of Liberty is. They will not dare to say, that they will have no Government. The Nature, the Circumstances, the Experience of Mankind, since Man hath been, proclaim it to be necessary. Nor will they pretend, that Government can subsist without Subordination. And if not, there must be Authority on the one hand, and due Submission on the other. Would they then have the Exercise of this Authority controuled in every Step, by every Set of Men throughout the Community, who shall please to dislike it? But what doth this come short of universal Confusion and Anarchy?

chy? — Or, would they appropriate the Privilege to Themselves and their Friends? Let them produce their Patent, and we will think it both our Duty and our Interest to put ourselves under their Care. But in the meantime, if we reflect a little on the usual Behaviour of the most pompous of these Talkers and Writers, in private Life, what Prospect have we of Their becoming such generous Dispensers of Happiness? Do these Gentlemen usually care, at present, to suffer their Favourite, Liberty, to descend much lower than Themselves? Are They found to be more humane, generous and benevolent than Others; less sensible of Affronts from their Fellow-Citizens; less apt to be provoked by Sauciness and Contumely; less fretful and revengeful, when teized by Witticisms or molested by shrewd Objections, or in any wise obstructed in the Execution of what they intend? The Favourers of the levelling Plan should also be desired to try the Experiment in their own Parishes, or in their Families; and thence judge of its natural Effect upon the Affairs of a great and mighty Nation. — They should be reminded from History, that few Governments, which are called Republicks, have been at all regular or equal ones, or allowed of near so much Liberty as Ours; — that in Proportion as they advanced towards the Popular Form, they were tumultuous and liable to be sway'd by Demagogues

gogues of little Experience or real Abilities; — that they have been remarkably divided in their Councils, unsteady in their Administrations, and unfit to form lasting Alliances; — that the flattering Prospects of Happiness, supposed likely to arise from that Constitution of civil Polity, have been constantly ruined by Faction and Intrigue; and, after unspeakable Mischiefs and Confusion, ended in the Erection of unsupportable Tyrannies,—the very Evil, which the Popular Form seems intended to prevent. Lastly, They should consult the Authority of such Statesmen of former Times, as are allowed to have had the fullest Knowledge and Experience of the Genius of Our People; and see, Whether the Republican Plan hath not always been considered by Them as chimerical and impracticable in This Country; and Whether, in Fact, all Attempts to introduce it have not proved abortive. — And indeed, the Reason is obvious; Length of Time hath familiarized our Nation to Monarchy, and all our Laws and Usages are suited to it.

Upon the whole, Whatever Form of Government might appear to be the Object of Preference to a reasonable Man, supposing it left to his Option, 'tis happy for Mankind that their Choice, about which they would be so likely to differ and make one another miserable, is generally precluded by the Circumstances of their Birth. And particularly, every serious

serious Man among Us hath abundant Reason to be thankful to Providence, for being born under a Political Constitution of all others the most convenient for the Ease and Security of those, who are disposed to act an honest and reasonable, or even but a tolerable Part in Life. We have the Advantage of living under a Regal Government; which by a peculiar Felicity is most apt to promote Union of Counsels and Steadiness of Administration; while at the same Time our Laws have guarded the Sovereign from many Temptations to oppress the Subject, and precluded Him, as far as human Institutions can preclude, from the Power of doing it, if he would. The Bitterness and Mischiefs of Parties are less sensibly felt, in Consequence of that Reverence which each Individual acknowledges to be due to the Sovereign; and which, in Proportion as it becomes habitual, reconciles Men to bear with Patience those Evils and Inconveniences, which no Foresight of Man can provide against, nor Power altogether avert. I will venture to add, that our present State, both as to the Rank which we hold in Respect of other Nations, our superior Advantages in Point of Commerce, the Privileges and Immunities which we enjoy, as free Subjects; and above all, the Purity of our established Religion, leave us no room to envy the Condition of Citizens in any other Country whatsoever.

It would be unpardonable in me to close my Reflexions upon the Unreasonableness of Disaffection to his Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Cause, without insisting upon the Danger threatened to the Protestant Religion by introducing the Pretender. Important as this Consideration is, there appears a strange Inattention to its Importance in great Numbers, that surely ought to be otherwise affected.

Some Persons, it seems, having been much habituated to Declamations, both in Print and Conversation, upon the Rights and Liberties of Men and *Englishmen*, are fully satisfied, that every Body, almost, hath the same Zeal for them in religious Matters, which they imagine themselves to have : And These esteem Popery to be no more than an empty Bug-bear ; They assure themselves, that neither Force nor Policy can ever again shackle the Nation with its Chains ; They bid Defiance to it ; and even think the Establishment of our Ecclesiastical Constitution to be a Barrier against it quite unnecessary, and scarce worth the preserving.

But let me ask these Gentlemen, such of them at least as are concern'd in the present Debate, and express perpetual Fears of our Civil Liberties being given up under the Government of a Prince, whose Throne is built on Liberty, as its very Foundation ; Can they

they be in earnest, when they thus profess to think our Religious Liberties would be so secure under a Prince bound in Conscience to overturn them? Perhaps they will plead, as some of them do, that their favourite young Prince is a Person of no Conscience, or Sense of Religion at all. But let them remember, that this may be a mere Pretence, put on by him to deceive the Incautious. Or, if it be a Reality, can they trust a Man of such profligate Principles? Can they be sure, that he hath not promised Others the contrary of what he may have promised Them? Or, that to advance his Authority, or gratify his Popish Allies, he may not attempt Here, what our increasing Neglect of all Religion will give him fair Opportunities of accomplishing? For opposite Extremes are always favourable to each other. Or, let Him be ever so indifferent about promoting the Religion he professes, can we expect that all his Descendants will be so? The Pains taken to introduce Popery is but too successful in many Parts of the Kingdom at present: And if it ever comes to be assisted, were it only, by the Countenance and Favour of the Prince; God grant, that they who despise and rail at the Church of *England*, may not experimentally feel the Loss of its Influence! And God forbid, that the Nation should ever be destitute of Scholars regularly bred to the Defence of our Religion; or that Persons intrusted with it in their several Districts

tricts should be obliged to cope, uninstructed in the Use of their Arms, with the disciplined Forces of the Romish Church ! 'Tis more than probable, they would be found, like raw and unexperienced Soldiers, vociferous and boasting while the Evil is at a Distance, but arrant Dastards upon a near Encounter, unable to maintain it, or unwilling to risque the Danger of it. For they, who think no Preparation of Learning, or Skill in Argument, needful to repulse the Attacks of Popish Missionaries, little know what plausible, though false, Appearances of both they bring into the Field.

Others again with their Mother's Milk have sucked in high Ideas of the Benefit of Authority, and the Duty of Submission to it; They have an utter Dread and Abhorrence of Confusion and Disorder. And hence are they led to reverence Popery on the very Account of, what others justly call, its exorbitant Claims over the Consciences and Liberties of Mankind. They consider it in no other Light, than as extending the Powers of the Hierarchy to that Degree, which they think necessary to controul the Vices, reform the Errors, and subdue the Heresies of the Age.

The Patrons of Liberty therefore should be very cautious of carrying their Schemes to Extremities, which will be likely to produce such dangerous Persuasions in serious Minds,

Minds. But then these latter should not fail to reflect, What Absurdities and Impieties Popery supports, and by what wicked and cruel Means, — What Relaxations it tolerates, and even encourages, at the same time, in Duties of the highest Moment; — How just Men's Title is to religious as well as civil Freedom; and how valuable the Possession of Both; — What abundant Cause therefore there is to be patient under the Inconveniences that arise from the Abuses of Liberty, and so to strive against Them as not to endanger It.

Need I add, that the Establishment of the Pretender threatens peculiar Danger to the Universities? For arbitrary Power is dangerous to the Privileges of all Bodies of Men: And the Introduction of Popery will require, in order to facilitate it, harsh Treatment of all the Non-complying There: Nor can we doubt, but that Papists will be obtruded upon it to share its Advantages. Such Treatment both the Universities had in King *James II's* Reign; and such they must always expect when a Change of Religion is intended.

I have indeed all along considered the Introduction of the Pretender chiefly in a political View. But it is certain, that *Lewis XIV.* was influenced by Religious, as well as other, Considerations, to labour for his Restoration to the *British* Throne; in order to restore the Nation

Nation likewise to the Religion of *Rome*. Nor can we suppose that Cardinal *Fleury*, in countenancing the late Attempt, when it was first projected, was regardless of the same Motive. And indeed, for what other Cause think we have successive Popes and Popish Princes harboured and maintained this abdicated Family, but to be an Instrument, at some favourable Juncture, of re-establishing their Religion here? And, if the Judgment of our Enemies upon this Point visibly coincides with the Reasonings we must naturally form about it Ourselves, we cannot too seriously consider the Matter in this View. — But I forbear to prosecute these Reflexions further; both as they are obvious to every unprejudiced and considerate Mind, and as We have been lately addressed by a seasonable * Discourse upon this Subject.

If then Disaffection to the established Government be indefensible, it is inexcusable in Fellows of Colleges to acquiesce under the Imputation of it. In so doing they become guilty of Injustice to Themselves, to the Youth under their Care, to the University, and to the Publick.

The Imputation indeed is groundless with Regard to the far greater Part of our Body, and the far better in all Respects. But then, what

* Mr. Dalton's Sermon before the University of Oxford, November 5, 1747.

Folly is it, in those who abhor the Crime, to take the Scandal of it to Themselves? For not to disprove a Charge that is seriously urged against us, is virtually to acknowledge it. Please ourselves we may with the Notion of its being more magnanimous to slight and despise unmerited Censure, than be at the Pains to refute it; and of our having our Revenge, by thinking and speaking as ill of our Slanderers, as they do of Us. But there is certainly more Stupidity and Sullenness than Christian Humility and Charity, or even common Prudence, in such a Thought. And he that can think himself at Liberty to indulge it for a Moment, knows neither the Value of a good Character, nor how much his being useful in the World depends upon his maintaining it.

The Effect of this Acquiescence upon the Minds of unexperienced young Persons, sent hither purposely for the Improvement of their Understanding, is obvious. It would be unnatural for Them to think, that Men, whose Profession is the Study of sound Learning and the Instruction of others in it, can entertain Opinions destitute of some rational Principle to support them: They cannot help regarding their Example with Reverence: They will implicitly adopt the Conclusions, which, not being sufficiently disowned by Them, they will apprehend to be Theirs, upon Presumption that They shall hereafter find a just

Connexion between them and the Reasons on which they are founded, ——— Conclusions in the present Case, more likely to be embraced by young Persons, as they flatter them in their petulant Disposition of censuring their Superiors, and imagining that they are not so well governed as they ought to be. *Miseri discunt hæc, antequam sciunt vitia esse*, They are initiated into Faction, before they arrive at the Use of their Reason, or know that there is any Fault in being factious.

And as to the Interests of the University in general, let it once prevail throughout the Nation as a general Persuasion, (and it doth prevail already, in a Degree that many of Us are not aware of, and All of Us have great Reason to be sorry for,) that the Principles therein inculcated, whether by Precept or Example, directly tend to subvert the established Government of our Country, — and What Parent, that hath a true Concern for the publick Welfare, or for the Success of his Child, will care to hazard the first Formation of his Mind among such Companions, or under such Governors? Will the Fears be at all unnatural, that He may possibly be led into immediate Danger of his Life and Fortunes by Rebellion; — that His Attention, and Study will be diverted from procuring such Qualifications as may be useful to himself and his Country; — that His Temper will be sour'd against his Superiors; — that He will

will be influenced to a Way of thinking and behaving, contrary to the publick Good; — and that He will bring himself into a Situation, where he must act to a great Disadvantage, if not entirely stand precluded from procuring his Subsistence, or at least his Advancement, by the fair Arts of honest Industry in his Profession? And as far as this Opinion of the Disloyalty of our University is the Inducement to any of our Nobility and Gentry to send their Youth Abroad immediately from School, it is a great Disgrace to us, as well as Inconvenience to them, and Damage to the Nation; and renders us in some Measure answerable for their imbibing Notions disadvantageous, not only to the University, but the Church of *Englana* in general.

The seditious Insolence of some of our Members on repeated Occasions hath been notorious, to such a degree, that every Instance of such Misbehaviour in other Places, by Persons formerly educated here, is now imputed to Us for Disloyalty; it is supposed to be, and indeed hath been impudently gloried in by them, as conformable to the current Doctrines of this Place: The Nation hath taken the Alarm: And therefore the Season loudly calls upon us to examine, what hath been the real Ground of general Obloquy against us, in order to remove it for the future.

With this View then let me suppose some old experienced Jacobite, practis'd in all the Wiles of the Party; clamorously zealous in the Cause of Liberty, while he is endeavouring to betray it; challenging the Benefit of the Law, while he is abusing the Lenity of it; and bidding Defiance to that Authority which is intrusted with the Execution of it, with so much Cunning as to escape the Conviction of legal Jurors, yet clearly to display his Treasonable Intentions to the Observation of every private By-stander; — Suppose him to be at the Trouble and Expence of importing Pictures of the Pretender and his Sons; and from the Opinion, which he hath been pleas'd to entertain of our University, contriving to have them distributed privately to our younger Members; Suppose the Stupidity or Impudence of Tradesmen to have been so far abus'd, that they expose them to Publick Sale.—To adorn a Chamber with any of these Pictures is certainly no Treason; The Law will not animadvert upon him that does so. But can any Man doubt, under our present Circumstances, in what View it will be consider'd by every indifferent Visitant or Stranger, that may chance to see it? Or, will the Stranger be at all uncharitable in surmising, that the Inhabitant of such a Chamber is by no means ill-affected to the Pretender's Person or Cause?

Or

Or, will it be wonderful, if, observing several Instances of this kind, he extends his Inference to the general Disadvantage of the Place?

Again, Let us suppose Another, wisely considering that good Chear, especially good Liquor, is the very Life and Support of *Jacobitism* in this Kingdom, should think it proper that his Son should testify his Loyalty to his exiled Prince by all the Methods which the Law will not punish, and that He should endeavour to raise in Other young Persons the same Reverence and Pity towards Him in his Distress; Suppose him to send a handsome Token to be spent upon the Birth-day of some of this pretended Royal Family. — Meetings on such a Day, tho' not accidental but purposely appointed, and even Anniversary, are certainly no legal Crime. — And how far Drinking Healths openly treasonable is actionable, I am not certain: But Common-Sense will scarce leave us at Liberty to doubt of the treasonable Disposition of the Man, who doth such Things. And however unable a Jury may be to find a Bill against him for these or any other like Instances of Disloyalty, the same Persons will not fail to condemn him in their private Conscience. — The like may be said of drinking Healths, involved in some stupid Quibble, and purposely contrived to signify a Treason without exposing the Drinker

er to Punishment: His very Design is to give those, who are present, a Proof of his Disloyalty, and perhaps of his Rudeness, yet still maintain the Privilege to pretend a Sense of Injury done by him that takes Offence; at the time that he would despise Him for not understanding his Intention.

Now though a mild Governor, or even a wise one, will not be assiduous to pry into, or always forward to animadvert upon the ridiculous Practices or idle Prate of those, who delight to be * *Saying to every one, I am a Fool*; yet, if the Sot must have his treasonable Health and Song, in order to have his Bumper, it may surely be insisted, that, He shall not dare to proclaim his Disaffection, and involve the Innocent in the Disgrace, and the Inconsiderate in the Guilt of it; — that He shall not insult other Persons for presuming to honour the King, and Those that are put in Authority under Him; — indeed, that He shall find a proper Place, if he can, for his disloyal Frolicks: For the University is of all Places the most improper for Fools to make the Scene of such Licentiousness; or for wise Men to connive at their doing so.

Follies like These are of the Boyish kind; how old soever Some may be before they

* *Eccles. x. 3.*

grow Men. But the Misfortune is, they have been too long treated with that Indulgence and Mildness, which are usually, and with good Reason, shewn to puerile Faults: The Matter is become serious; for the Consequences are so. Strangers indeed to our University, on seeing or hearing of any Instance of Misbehaviour in this kind, are apt to carry their Inferences too far. They have perhaps higher Notions of the Authority of Academical Discipline, than the Licentiousness of the Age will well permit to be exercised; and of the Vigilance, which ought to be shewn by our University-Magistrates, than the Nature of the Cases submitted to their Inspection often admits of. And would they judge with Impartiality and Candor, they must allow, that such Discipline and Vigilance cannot always be exercised to effectual good Purpose by a much higher Authority, I mean, the Paternal. For want of considering this, they wonder, — how such Irregularities should ever be committed without Notice; — how they ever pass without exemplary Censure; — and cannot conceive, how it should come into the Heads of young People to practise them, if they did not hope to recommend themselves thereby to their Superiors in the Place.

Whoever is conversant in the World must know, that these Inferences are frequently and strongly made to our Disadvantage by many,
that

that otherwise by no means wish us ill. This, as it ought to excite the utmost Zeal of every Person in a publick Station among Us to prevent or punish such Offences, so, it will sufficiently justify any Man in expressing some Warmth upon this Occasion, both by his Words and Actions; in order to shew that, agreeably to Our publick Professions, We do regard the training up of Persons to be good Subjects as a principal Object in the Business of Education.

Nor let any Man employed in this Business at the publick Expence (as all Fellows of our Colleges are in one Shape or other,) think to defend his spreading or countenancing Disaffection, tho' ever so covertly, by the Plea of private Persuasion, that the Establishment, to which he is sworn, and for which he publicly prays every Day, is not legal. — If such Proceeding in any of our Order, and more especially in a Tutor, can be justified; by the same Principles I will engage to justify those vile Instances of Jesuitical Perfidy, which have been the Reproach of Popish Politicks. Or if he could have a Right to act thus, the King hath surely a Right also to use the means, which Providence hath given him for the Preservation of his own Authority, while Others are maliciously contriving to subvert it: For both He, and the Body of his Subjects, may no less be supposed well satisfied

fied in Conscience, that He hath a good Title to Sovereignty, than the *Jacobite* is persuaded of the contrary. He owes it therefore to Himself and his People to provide effectually for the publick Tranquillity. And he hath a better Right to act with Vigour in his own Cause and Theirs ; Inasmuch as every disaffected Person, who hath taken the Oaths to the Government, and much more he who accepts a Trust under it, thereby, not only renounces his Claim to act offensively against it, but contracts an Obligation to be active in its Defence. So that what would have been a fair Tryal of Power in him, had he been an open and independent Enemy, and in some Degree excusable in a Subject that never owned his Subjection, becomes now an unpardonable Piece of Treachery.

Unwilling I am to suppose, that any Man, of our Order at least, can be so grossly ignorant of the first Principles of Social Union, abandoned and lost to all Sense of Religion and common Honesty, as to inculcate, or think, that those Oaths are forcibly imposed, and therefore no longer obligatory,—an Assertion, as false in Fact, as the Consequence drawn from it is subversive of all good Faith and mutual Security between Man and Man! For where is the Force? What is there worthy of that Name, that any Man suffers by not taking these Oaths? What indeed is he debarred from? It is from
H being

being intrusted with Authority to teach and instruct others, whose Principles there is the strongest Reason to presume he would endeavour to pervert ; — from having Share in a Government, which he must be inclined to betray ; — from being admitted to the Administration of Justice, the Foundation of which, as laid in the Laws of the Land, he is for sapping. But every Branch of Trade is still open to him ; the Practice of Physick, of Surgery, and even of beneficial Parts of the Law ; — Not to say, that the conducting of young Gentlemen in a private Education is often intrusted with Persons known to be disaffected to the established Government. Still it must be owned, that Non-jurors are under some inconvenient Restraints. But if Convenience be the Rule of moral Obligation, let us no longer blame the Assassins, the Robber, the Forger ; but applaud their Courage, in resolving neither to starve, nor follow Employments disagreeable to them ; and their Dexterity, in contriving how to execute their Resolutions with Impunity.

But I hope, and am persuaded, that the Opinion of the Disloyalty of our University hath few Instances of such sober Villany to support it. It may in a great Measure be accounted for by the silly Behaviour of the Boyish Persons before mentioned, and the ill-judged, but not ill-meant Backwardness of some graver Members at shewing their Zeal for the

the Government, in such Degree, and in such Ways as Others might expect.

Towards which of the contending Parties in our National Disputes the general Bias of this Place hath been supposed to lie, I need not mention. But surely the honest Men, the much greater Part, rank'd as they were under different Denominations, whether by accidental Connexions of private Friendships, or by the busy Impertinence of Meddlers in other Men's Matters, might have been easily agreed: — But they were diligently taught, and too eagerly learnt the evil Lesson of misinterpreting and distrusting each other's Principles and Designs.

Besides, a studious and retired Life sometimes gives Men a certain Loftiness of Spirit which makes them appear proud, when they are not really so : But while they scorn to be base, they are apt to have too much Dread of the Imputation. Hence every Buffoon, that can shew his Drollery in describing, and his Impudence in applying at random the Character of an abject Man, hath it in his Power to drive a Person, so injudiciously affraid even of undeserved Reproach, into the other Extreme of Disrespectfulness to his Superiors. Rather than be banter'd as acting with mercenary Views, He will neglect to do Justice to Himself, and to those, for whose Interests He is concern'd ; Nay He will sometimes seem to join in a popular Cry, which he

really disapproves, in order to prevent its being turned upon Himself. — And He may reap this Advantage from dissembling his Loyalty, that no Man can say He hath made a Profession of it in Prospect of a Reward; But how far his Honesty and Dutifulness, or at least his Courage, may be called in Question, He doth not sufficiently consider. — Nay, perhaps after all he flatters himself, and is flattered by his Friends, with being much more disinterested, than he really is: Inasmuch as the Character of being Disinterested is just as consistent with exerting one's Zeal for the Government in View of a Court-Favour, as it is with being noisy in the Opposition in order to pave the Way to some Preferment that happens to be in the Patronage of discontented Persons Out of the University, or a governing Party In it.

Others, of a more manly Turn of Mind, being conscious of their own Integrity, without doubt upon some Occasions have thought themselves injuriously treated by Imputations of Jacobitism, indiscriminately thrown out upon them by violent Men. It may be, that They were not forward and loud in the Praises of their Superiors: But perhaps it was, only because they did not approve some Measures of Government; or thought that, by entering far into such Matters, they should go out of their Academical Character. Or, They might be really so far persuaded of the desperate State of the Jacobite

bite Cause, as at some times to decline expressing the Zeal they truly had for the Government, rather than appear unnecessarily ostentatious. And much less could they join in aspersing the Characters of other Men, merely because they did not like their political Principles; so long as they saw no sufficient Grounds to arraign them of undutiful Practices or Intentions. And this charitable Tenderneſs may have been represented as Diſaffection by Thoſe, whoſe loyal Zeal prompts them to be over-haſty in accusing their Neighbours of wanting it. Allowing for ſuch as have on theſe Accounts, or others, been worſe thought of than they deſerved, I am perſuaded that the Number of thoſe among Us, on whom the Imputation of being Enemies to our happy Eſtabliſhment will reſt, is much ſmaller than Some have imagined: Who, whatever they intend, ſurely do great Diſſervice to the Government, as well as Injuſtice to the Univerſity, in representing them to be more than they are; and take the Way to increaſe what they inveigh againſt. For Nothing more diſcourages Endeavours to deſerve well, than an Unwillingneſs to believe and accept them, and a Readineſs to give every Thing the worſt Turn. — But then the more We apprehend there is of this bad Spirit in the World, the more careful We ſhould be to behave ſo as to prevent its gaining Credit, *and cut off Occaſion from them that deſire Occaſion.*

An

One Opportunity lately offered itself for Our disavowing that Imputation in the most solemn Manner. The Season required it. In Our Addresses We did disavow it. And as They, who joined in them, ought to think themselves bound by a fresh Tye both of Conscience and Honour; so Others ought not to suspect their Sincerity without evident Reason.

Other Places indeed gave other Proofs of their Zeal. But personal Service, or a formal Preparation for it against Enemies in a distant Part of the Nation, might have been thought unsuitable to Our Institution of Life. Nor could it have been of great Moment for Persons, most of them possessed only of such an Income, as, when managed by all the prudent Arts of Care and Frugality, is barely sufficient to furnish a decent Subsistence, to set on Foot Subscriptions of Money, and offer to the Publick what they had not to give. Or, however laudable for Example Sake such a Step might have been, though otherwise insignificant, yet Men of Experience and Candor must be sensible, that a Variety of Accidents and Circumstances might innocently occasion the Omission of what many would have been glad of, and have heartily joined in; nay indeed, might render the Omission prudent. But though Persons of good Intention might differ in their Opinions about these extraordinary Measures, yet All must allow, that Vigilance
to

to counteract the Attempts of disaffected Persons upon the unwary, Diligence and Assiduity to keep young Men true to the Interests of their Country, to obviate popular Prejudices against the Government, and, as far as Opportunity should offer, to incite others to be active in its Service in their several Ways, might with the utmost Reason be expected. Nor were there wanting reputed Tories, who very properly exerted themselves on that important Occasion, in This as well as other Parts of the Kingdom. They, who could be supinely indolent; or affect an Indifference and Neutrality upon so pressing an Emergence, cannot with reason complain, if their Loyalty to the present Government be called in Question. Some indeed have not scrupled to unmask themselves thoroughly since ; and a little preposterously methinks. For there was Then a critical Juncture, when treasonable Declarations, whether by Words or Actions, might have done good Service to their Cause. But I am really at a Loss which most to admire, the Cowardice, which must have been at the Bottom of their former Silence, or the Folly, which hath of late occasioned their most ridiculous Noisiness and Petulance. Infatuated Men ! who, because their Insolence hath been suffered to run riot in various Shapes with Impunity, can think This to be a Season for extending their Quarters ; or that they shall be able to dupe any considerable Number, even of those who have passed for
Tories,

Tories, into their pernicious Schemes ! For surely a more absurd Solecism in Politicks was never heard of, than for Men to value themselves as Tories, when the principal Topicks of their Conversation are taken out of the very Dregs of Republicanism ; — to retain their Professions of Dutifulness to the Persons of Kings and Reverence towards their Prerogative, and yet to pride themselves in giving an ill Turn to whatever is done by their Authority ; — to reproach Men as infamous for being distinguished by Marks of his Majesty's Favour, or called by Him to the publick Service of their Country ; — and to treat with Scurrility the Characters of Persons of highest Rank, for obeying that Call, unless they can be persuaded, or menaced to distress with one hand that very Administration of Government, which they are conducting a Share of with the other.

Whatever Inducements other Persons may have to act so unjustifiable a Part, the Interests of the University are intimately connected with those of the Crown ; and the Shadow of Disloyalty in such a Body is most unnatural. The Academical Institution is founded on the Supposition that Posts of Honour and Employments are Objects of a very laudable Ambition. 'Tis our Profession to fit the Youth committed to our Charge for several of the Offices which concur to support the publick Welfare ; — to incite

Wretches? or, Would They not think the Administration of it very faulty, if They were overlook'd? Let Them reflect then, what Sort of Behaviour it is to rail at Others, for merely accepting those Emoluments, which They seem but too much inclined to throw their Native Land into Confusion, in order to gain for Themselves.

But to return, if it must be deem'd expedient in Point of sound Policy to use every Minister of State like a Knave, in order to prevent his becoming one; if it seem a proper Way of improving his Dexterity in the Management of Business to create Difficulties and multiply Obstructions without Necessity; if, lastly, the Character of a Patriot can not be fully answered without being so excessively jealous, so nicely critical, as to suspect and dislike every Thing that can be proposed by Persons in Power for the Service of the Publick; — yet surely the Task must be disagreeable to every serious and good-natur'd Man: And We of This Place especially may well be content to leave it to Those whom it will less misbecome. For Nothing can be more ridiculous than for Us, as a learned Body, concerned in the Education of Youth, to be throwing Ourselves constantly into the Scale of Opposition. So long as we continue to act agreeably to our proper Character, we shall preserve full as much Importance and Significancy in the
World,

World, and meet with as much Regard as any good Man can think necessary. But whenever we leave our proper Sphere, our Weight is insignificant and lighter than Vanity; We become the Object of Laughter, and yet of redoubled Resentment to our Enemies, and of Concern to our real Friends; And what We call Steadiness and Zeal upon that Plan may in the End be likely to overturn, not the Government, but Ourselves. If We expect that They to whose immediate Patronage we commit the Management of our Academical Interests, should in Questions not at all connected with or peculiarly relating to the University, conduct themselves by our local Prejudices, and be always ready to join with the Discontented, and distress the Administrators of the Government at all Events; with how little Credit can They be supposed to make Representations in our Favour, when our Circumstances really require them! with how little Weight either exert Themselves, or solicit Others! Can We be guilty of greater Impropriety than to leave our proper Province, which is large enough to engross all our Cares, and usurp another that belongs not to us, and which a little Reflexion would shew us we are poorly qualified for? — Usurp it in direct Contradiction to a Principle extremely serviceable, and indeed necessary to the Design of the Academical Institution, namely, the keeping within the Bounds of that Subordination in which the Laws have placed us,

studying to be quiet, and to do our own Business.

True it is, and ought to be allowed as some Excuse, that bad Examples have been set us by Men of Rank and Fortune and popular Abilities, taking upon them to dispute the Justice of that Title to Respect, which is conferred on Persons in particular Posts by the Laws and prudent Customs of the Realm; and sometimes giving themselves the Air of ridiculing those Forms, which have been usefully devised for the Distinction of the Members of Society into their several Ranks and Stations. No wonder, if from this unhappy Source Impatience for Change hath both diffused itself and grown violent: No wonder, if injudicious, and especially young People, here as well as in other Places, have been led to consider Insolence as the best Argument of their being Free, to resent several legal Establishments as an Insult upon their Liberty, and esteem it meritorious to contrive how they may elude their Force with Impunity. But no wonder also, if the Promoters of this Spirit come at length themselves to feel within their own Neighbourhoods, and even in their Families, the ill Effects of that Confusion, which They to serve some particular Turn have endeavoured to raise in the Constitution of their Country.

Every

Every Man knows how much the Comfortableness of private Life depends upon the Candor, due Submission, and Modesty of those about him. National Regularity and good Order would probably be the Result of the same Temper with Regard to Political Transactions. And this Class of Dispositions is the natural Fruit of a truly liberal Education: The whole Plan of our *English* Universities is directly adapted to produce them in the Minds of young Persons; and hereby they have been usually distinguished from the Licentiousness of other Institutions. — In particular, Nothing can be more wise and salutary than that Provision which is made in our Universities to secure in young Persons a due Reverence towards their Superiors. You know well enough in what View we are apt to consider any contemptuous Insult upon the Authority of our local Statutes, or the Persons of our Academical Magistrates. But let the Concern about this Matter be extended ever so far, if we stop here, it is doing but little towards the main Point, and will come very short of the good Purposes intended to be served by it. For We are neither the only, nor by any Means the principal Persons to whom Respect is due. These Forms have indeed their Use, as a kind of Outwork, to secure an orderly Behaviour within the Precincts of the Place: But they are principally intended to give young Persons the Habit of respecting All their Superiors ever after. What Absurdity

dity then is it to insist upon Punctilios towards the Governors of the University, and overlook Disrespect to the Governors of the Nation ?

And especially with Regard to the Supreme Head of our Constitution in Church and State, nothing seems more reasonable than that such Members of the University, as are more immediately intrusted for the Publick with the Education of Youth, should give the Publick Satisfaction concerning their Faithfulness in This Part of the Execution of their Trust ; They owe it to the Government to declare themselves fully in Relation to it, and are bound to give its Friends the Satisfaction, and its Enemies the Discouragement of manifesting undeniably on which Side they are.

The Oaths taken, and the daily Prayers used by us ought indeed to be accepted, when nothing appears to the contrary, as Evidences sufficient. But if unhappily, whether by the Fault of Persons In or Out of the University, these appear to Any a doubtful Evidence, Why should not all possible Care be taken, which properly can, to shew that our Hearts and our whole Behaviour go along with these solemn Assurances ? Why should we not quit a Reservedness, that hath been so dreadfully misinterpreted to our Disadvantage ? — No irregular and riotous

riotous Zeal is here recommended ; No Sort of Servility, or Affectation of changing one Party-name for another more acceptable. Rather ought we to wish that Party-denominations of all Sorts were entirely discarded. For they are probably the Contrivance, certainly the Instruments of knavish Men to enflame the Passions, and thereby gain the Command of the unthinking Part of their Fellow Subjects ; and therefore are very unsuitable to Those, whose Profession it is to set forth an Example of Integrity, Discernment and Charity. — But the Point, which I maintain, is this ; that our present Situation loudly calls upon Us to act, jointly and separately, with Vigour in discouraging every Thing that is undutiful to the Person, or disrespectful towards the Government of his Majesty ; that We openly disavow and censure on all proper Occasions what may else be esteemed the general and almost unanimous Doctrines of the Place. — And this Discouragement should be extended to every kind of Undutifulness ; whether expressed openly or covertly implied ; without Doors or within : For indeed the secret Efforts of Disloyalty are the more dangerous, and make deeper Impressions on the Minds of young People. Besides, open Insults may be left to the Cognizance of the Laws ; which ought to be so executed, as to have their due Efficacy : Nor can it misbecome any Man to co-operate with them for that End. But Seditious Discourse falls more immediately under Our Pro-

Province, to be opposed by Argument, if there be need ; or check'd by Disapprobation ; or silenced by Authority.—And this should be done, not as an artful Precaution to keep Disaffection concealed, but so as to appear an evident Proof of our own good Affection and Loyalty. — Private as Our Station is, We have it in our Power ; and therefore it is Our Duty to do these Things : Nor need We, on any proper Occasion, and surely such a one offers itself Now, to be ashamed publicly to acknowledge our having a strong Sense of this Obligation. — At least this is my deliberate Opinion. And if any one ask, what Authority I have to give it thus freely and publicly ; I beg leave to answer, that besides the common Privilege of an *Englishman*, and my general Interest in the Good of my Country ; (Inducements, which Some have pleaded to justify much more questionable Freedoms, than any I have adventured to take) no one hath a heartier Concern for the Welfare of this University : And very few have resided in it so constantly, and born the Office of a Tutor there so long, as

Your Affectionate,

Oxford,
O^x. 24, 1748.

Humble Servant,

E. BENTHAM.



E R R A T A.

PA G E 14, l. 15, *for*, If, *read*, If we.

Page 68, l. 3, *for*, and ought, *read*, and therefore it ought.

Page 69, l. 30, *for*, principally, *read*, chiefly.

Page 70, l. the last, *for*, and, *read*, or.

Page 72, l. 10, include from the Word and to Now in a Parenthesis ; and l. 24, *for*, there, *read*, here.



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